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WHEN the Germans destroyed a good part of the city of Louvain because they claimed that they were fired upon from certain houses and had to make an example of the city in order to protect their troops from similar attacks, the civilized world righteously rocked with amazement and abhorrence. Ten days ago in Cork the British military took a leaf out of the German book and did precisely the same thing. They ordered the dwellers of two houses to vacate their buildings and then blew up the houses. The soldiers were careful to explain that they could not prove that shots had been fired out of those particular homes; they simply destroyed these houses because the shooting had been in the neighborhood and they took this action to put a stop to that sort of thing. *The Nation* unqualifiedly denounced the Germans in Louvain as on its face "an appalling act of vandalism and ferocious cruelty." It now denounces the British in similar unqualified language and declares that the offense in Cork is worse than that in Louvain. It is monstrous brutality occurring in civil strife instead of in an international war. As such the public opinion of the United States ought to speak out just as loudly as it did in the case of Belgium; all the more so because, despite English statements to the contrary, the bloodshed grows worse and also because Sir Hamar Greenwood's exhortation to the Black and Tans, whom high officers of the British army have denounced as a gang of miscreants, upon whose shoulders is saddled the burning of Cork, shows that the British Government has sunk quite to the level of the Von Bissings and Tirpitzes. No worse act has been laid at the door of British statesmen for a generation than Sir Hamar's open encouragement to crime.

HERBERT HOOVER is still begging for money to keep the children of Central Europe alive. The fifteen million bushels of corn which Western farmers have offered the Chinese, Near East, and European relief organizations —"marketing their surplus corn in relief and taking their pay in good-will"—will help; and so will John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s million dollars, but the need is enormous. "We seem to have lost our national perspective," Mr. Hoover says. "We hold to our surplus of food and raw materials with which our warehouses are bursting. People do not realize that if we are to abandon the 3,500,000 children of Europe who are ambassadors of good-will our hope for a cure of world evils is gone. These starving peoples of Europe may be driven to madness by the hardness of our hearts." People who talk of greater need for help at home lack imagination; they understand only what they see. Help at home, by all means; but the misery in Europe cries in a shriller tone of desperation. There is money enough here if only those who have would follow Mr. Rockefeller's lead, or if Congress would but appropriate the cost of a single battleship.

IS the tradition extinct that the United States is a haven for the politically oppressed of other nations? For the moment it is. It withered and died during the war to make the world safe for democracy. Its formal obsequies may be read in the deportation of Donal O'Callaghan, Lord Mayor of Cork. Yes, the law is explicit. The passport control act, passed during the emergency of war, and extended six months after the armistice for two more years, provides that no alien without a visaed passport can enter the United States unless the Department of State makes an exception in his case. This the Department of State refused to do for Mayor O'Callaghan. Yet he is the very type of political refugee whom a generation ago we would have welcomed with open arms—a man of education, a patriot in revolt against the military forces that keep his country in subjection. Have we forgotten John Boyle O'Reilly who, by the aid of an American skipper, escaped while serving a life-sentence in a British penal colony in Australia and came to this country on an American ship? The present State Department would have deported him as it would doubtless have deported to Prussia Carl Schurz and Sigel and Abraham Jacobi and the rest of that noble band of '48ers to whom America was the symbol and the realization of political liberty. It is in the tradition of freedom that America was born and bred. It is the men whose love of liberty made them rebels against the oppression of old-world monarchies that have helped most to make us great.

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THE adoption by the Senate of Senator Borah's resolution for an immediate calling of a conference with England and Japan to bring about a naval holiday is highly gratifying, because as amended the resolution went even further than as first drafted. It now asks for the prompt negotiation of a treaty to bring about the reductions in naval armaments and it was wisely altered to leave out the 50 per cent figure which Senator Borah originally suggested. This would leave the negotiators free to cut building to 5 or 10 per cent or stop it altogether. The Senate was also correct in refusing to be inveigled into adding France and Italy to the nations to be negotiated with. That would have been a red herring across the trail, as Senator Borah insisted. Mr. Root, too, has been trying to block the game by urging that nothing be done until Mr. Harding comes in. Every day's delay is costing the taxpayers of the United States millions of dollars in useless expenditure —worse than useless, for it is dangerous expenditure. Nothing should take precedence over this question of disarmament with Mr. Harding, when he becomes President.

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON has introduced a bill calling for a Senate investigation of our invasion of Haiti and Santo Domingo. Good. A Congressional inquiry would be the first step toward righting an intolerable wrong, but only if painstaking and determined to go to the bottom of one of the most wanton and unjustifiable acts of aggression in our history. Strong words these, but the evidence will disclose a combination of administrative autocracy flagrantly violating our Constitution, of brutal militarism, of financial exploitation, of official incompetence—without precedent or parallel. That the whole wretched business is glazed with a veneer of hypocritical idealism, only makes it the more nauseating. When so eminent and conservative an authority on American law as Mr. Moorfield Storey, lately President of the American Bar Association, declares publicly that every official connected with the seizure of Haiti can be and should be impeached, even the skeptic may feel certain that investigation cannot proceed too swiftly.

PRESIDENT WILSON is so proud of his Russian policy that he desires the entire civilized world to adopt and follow it. He would have the boundaries of Russia guaranteed by the Powers; he would have France forget her plans of invasion and conquest; he would have England abandon her hope of trade. He would, in fact, make his policy of infinite negation the universal policy. No trade, no recognition, no invasion, no partition—such is his motto. Those hopeful Russian sympathizers who see in President Wilson's note to M. Hymans a virtual recognition of the Soviet Government are deluding themselves in spite of his vigorous denunciation of armed intervention. Mr. Martens was not deported the other day in order to facilitate trade and good feeling between the Bolsheviki and the Department of State. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Wilson has been consistent and steadfast in the vision that possesses him: the vision of a vast undivided Russian empire, miraculously restored from within to a new view of economic questions, to a faith that more nearly approximates the national platform of the Democratic Party. The President is correct in stating that the Armenian question cannot be detached from the Russian question. But he is quite wrong in assuming that either question can be solved by a general adoption of a policy of militant inactivity.

THE American Commission on Conditions in Ireland concluded its public hearings with the testimony of two Protestant Irish women who repeated the story of military destruction of cooperative creameries, of British attempts to revive religious prejudice, and misuse of tax funds. The Commission is now engaged in the preparation of a preliminary report, but it will continue to watch the Irish situation closely, and to resume public activity if it feels that it can again be of service. It is gratifying to note that the American Committee for Relief in Ireland, which in a sense grew out of the interest aroused by *The Nation's* Commission, is hard at work and has already cabled large sums of money for immediate relief in Ireland. The distribution is being supervised by a group of English and Irish Quakers, who will shortly be joined by an American unit. While the big official and semi-official relief organizations pause and palaver, new organizations arise spontaneously to express the will of Americans to give aid where aid is needed regardless of danger or of political complications.

EVEN application for membership in the Communist Party is reason for forfeiting public office—this is the decision of the Acting Superintendent of Education of New York. So Miss Julia D. Pratt, for seventeen years a valued teacher in the public schools, has lost her position. Miss Pratt applied for admission to the Communist Party, but speedily canceled her application in order to save her job, the Acting Superintendent alleges. Stripped of its essentials, the decision serves notice that one cannot hold communist ideas and remain a teacher no matter how sincerely or how lightly one may hold such beliefs, no matter how rigidly one may keep such beliefs from one's pupils—there was no allegation that Miss Pratt ever taught either socialism or communism to her pupils. It is idle to point out, we suppose, that there can be no wrong in believing if one wishes to that the perfect state is to be communist in character as it was believed in the early days of civilization. To that the reply will be that the party with which Miss Pratt sought for a few days to be affiliated advocated reform by violence. But if communists were all dyed-in-the-wool Tolstoyan pacifists, it would still be held to be a crime to believe in such ideas, precisely as it was at one time a penitentiary offense to teach Negroes to read in the South. America today neither recognizes nor respects freedom of conscience, and those who take up or appear to take up new and strange doctrines, particularly if they menace the right of private property, pay the price.

THIS business of attempting to suppress thinking goes on in Japan much as it did in America during the war and in the post-war days of Palmerian persecutions. The Japanese police, so the Japan *Chronicle* reports, recently raided a Yokohama bookshop and seized 150 copies of *The Nation* for October 20, containing an article on the I. W. W. The article, as the *Chronicle* says, was "merely an endeavor to prove that the I. W. W. was not so black as it was painted," and the Japanese paper cannily comments that "the seizure will be a splendid advertisement for *The Nation*, and will make the Yokohama police the laughing-stock of the world." *The Nation* earnestly hopes that the *Chronicle* is right on both counts; a little suppression now and then is relished by the best of circulation managers.

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IN declaring that Senator Calder's bill for the regulation of the coal supply contains provisions "revolutionary in their application to existing relations of American government and industry," Mr. J. D. A. Morrow, Vice-President of the National Coal Association, gave it higher praise than it deserves. Almost everyone is so dissatisfied with the existing control of the coal industry that a genuine revolution in its conduct would be welcome. As a matter of fact, however, the bill aims at little more than the sort of control which Mr. Hoover established over food during the war. It would establish a system of licenses, which in normal times would enable the government to obtain and publish figures of cost and profit, and in abnormal times would permit it to regulate prices, and even if necessary to deal in coal and control its production and distribution. High taxes on useless brokers are also provided for. Ordinarily, the only protection afforded the purchaser by this measure would be exposure and elimination of the worser sort of profiteer. Price fixing alone is of little value when basic reorganization is necessary. Pooling of the coal supply, which would afford more relief, would probably not be undertaken by any administration unless under the heaviest kind of pressure. Yet unitary control of production and distribution, not merely in emergencies, but permanently, is probably the only measure that can begin to achieve real efficiency.

REPUBLICAN economy is making a bad beginning in New York State by attacking the nonpartisan Industrial Commission. When we remember the record of the Republican legislature in blocking enlightened labor legislation before economy was ever thought of, we are justified in inspecting the woodpile closely. The joker emerges when we discover that under the present law the terms of the commissioners expire in rotation so that no incoming administration can seize control suddenly, and that Governor Miller proposes to substitute a one-man Commission. There are excellent reasons why there should be a number of commissioners. In the first place, the employers, the employees and the public should all be represented. In the second place, the commission not only has executive duties, but also must act as a court, gradually building law by making precedents. If the Republicans abolish it they cannot save much money, but they will surely render impossible the wise administration of the labor code for some time to come. Apparently, however, that is just what they intend to do. Governor Miller, in speaking recently to a group of Republican women, attacked the law forbidding night work for women, on the high ground of "sex equality." Indeed a revision downward of the whole labor code seems to be in prospect.

FORMER service men are breaking down at the rate of one thousand a month. Seventeen thousand hospital patients six months ago, there are today over twenty-two thousand, a number which in the opinion of Surgeon General Cumming of the Public Health Service will increase progressively for at least six years. The majority of these belated war casualties are victims of tuberculosis or insanity. Accommodation for their care and treatment is lacking. Ten thousand beds at an estimated cost of $3,000 each, including maintenance for a year, are required at once. The $30,000,000 needed will meet only this year's augmented casualty list. Assuming the figures to be correct the bill providing this relief should pass Congress without debate. Our neglect of our crippled soldiers is already a ghastly scandal. But this latest revelation of the insidious recrudescence of disease sheds new light on the devastation of modern war. Indeed the spiritual parallel is all too plain. Not for some time shall we know how gravely our body politic has broken down. The white plague and mental aberration are with us as never before. Living man, nay, the fourth generation, may not see the end of our poisoning. But to return to our burden: Thirty million dollars, and where to find it? Cross off one dreadnought—a solution easy, obvious, and appropriate!

EVERYBODY his own Stradivarius? Such is the startling news just come from Hamburg where a certain Heinrich Ohlhaver declares that he has found the secret of the greatest of violin-makers for which artists, scientists, and craftsmen have sought in vain for centuries. He can so improve any cheap instrument as to make it perfect. What is even more interesting is that Mr. Ohlhaver, being a spiritualist, asserts that it is the spirit of Stradivarius himself which revealed this mystery of ages to him. Now with many people this latter fact would lead to the dismissal of the whole matter. But it is added that at a recent private concert no one could tell the difference between an Ohlhaver violin and a real Stradivarius, the artist being the great Dutch violinist Vandenberg. More than that, no less a person than Arthur Nikisch is interested in a concert to be given in Berlin on February 7, which is to be a complete public demonstration as to whether a miracle has been achieved or whether it is all a hoax. If Mr. Ohlhaver has really discovered the secret he has done a wonderful service to the musical world. To have an orchestra before him with every instrument of Stradivarius tone-quality would fire every conductor to new efforts, while the democratizing of the fiddle-world by giving a "Strad" to every beginner would wipe out at one blow the line between poor and rich players. Still, we fancy, there would always be competition for a "real" Stradivarius as against an Ohlhaver one, even if the tone-quality were the same.

IN the Emperor of Japan's annual poetry competition, in which many scores of native poets joined, the fourth prize was awarded to Mrs. Charles Burnett, wife of the American military attaché at Tokio. This is not only an amazing linguistic and literary feat, but the finest type of cultural internationalism and peace-making. There is no reason, however, why such examples, especially where the languages are simpler, should not multiply. Macaulay's dictum that no man could write genuine literature in any language but that to which he was born has long received the contradiction of experience. The Americans Francis Vielé-Griffin and Stuart Merrill went to France and became eminent poets; the Pole Conrad became an English stylist of a high order; the Frenchman Adalbert Chamisso de Boncourt is a minor German classic, the Scotchman John Henry Mackay a contemporary German lyrist of high rank. Among us there are, of course, numerous writers, such as Abraham Cahan, who have done solid literary work in a tongue that was once unknown to them. A few bilingual poets or prose writers in every country, if they were soundly inspired politically, could do untold good in destroying those subtle but dangerous misunderstandings between nation and nation which are caused by slight psychological differences embodied in an unfamiliar idiom.

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Turn the Light on Palmer!

APPEARING before the Senate Judiciary Committee on January 19, Attorney General Palmer was asked in regard to charges made against his administration, especially those of twelve eminent lawyers against his handling of alien radicals. According to press reports, Mr. Palmer pounded vehemently on the table before him, and demanded this:

> I feel that in justice to this great department, whose actions have been denounced, the facts ought to be made known. I ask you gentlemen to bring these witnesses here. The only fair and honest thing to do is to ascertain the whole truth of these charges.

Mr. Palmer ought to be accommodated. We support unqualifiedly his demand for the whole truth. In the interest of law, justice, and American honor, an investigation into his administration cannot come too soon nor be too deep, broad, and impartial. As long as eight months ago *The Nation*, convinced of Mr. Palmer's lawlessness, brutality, and temperamental unfitness for the post of Attorney General, called for his impeachment. His term of office is now too short to make that possible, but as the twelve lawyers say in a brief just filed with the Judiciary Committee, it is imperative that Congress take some action to repudiate the policies of Mr. Palmer and not, by its silence, allow them to become precedents for the Department of Justice and other executive branches of the Government.

Mr. Palmer's administration ought to be scrutinized in at least four spots: i. e., his use of Government funds to conduct a personal press campaign against free thought and speech; his violation of the Constitution in deportation proceedings against aliens; his betrayal of international custom and common decency as Alien Property Custodian; his failure to accomplish anything tangible to check profiteering or prevent illegal practices by trusts.

A year ago *The Nation* exposed the way in which Mr. Palmer was using Government machinery and funds in an unauthorized and illegal newspaper and magazine campaign intended to prejudice the public against radicals and deprive them of the right of free expression. At about the same time it was obliged to take note of the accumulating evidence of barbarism and lawlessness employed against aliens by the Department of Justice. Mr. Palmer had tried in the autumn of 1919 to engineer through Congress some sedition legislation that would have made even a citizen's thoughts subject to inquiry and criminal prosecution. Failing in his effort to obtain new laws for the prosecution of citizens, Mr. Palmer turned his efforts against that easiest and most defenseless prey, the alien. The results were strikingly set forth in the charges brought by twelve of the country's most distinguished lawyers, in regard to which much has appeared in *The Nation*. Evidence was presented of arrests, seizures, and searches without warrants; of secret imprisonment; of forgery and perjury by Department of Justice agents; of illegal destruction of property; of the beating and terrorization of aliens; of unlawfully compelling persons to testify against themselves; of the use of *agents provocateurs*. Mr. Palmer has never answered the charge of United States Judge Anderson of Boston that his department "owned and operated" a part of the Communist Party. Most recent of all, Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the Lockwood Committee in New York, has accused Mr. Palmer of gross malpractices as Alien Property Custodian, and has said that the Attorney General has not only failed to assist but has actually impeded the effort to stop graft and profiteering in the building industry. In calling for an investigation of the office of Alien Property Custodian and of the Department of Justice, Mr. Untermyer declared:

> The vast powers and patronage of these great offices are said to have been used, and it is the general belief that they were used, to build up a political machine which, however, fortunately failed of its purpose. I have no direct legal evidence, but if a fraction of what comes to me is true, and I believe much of it to be true, such an investigation will disclose to the world a series of the most mortifying scandals that has ever befallen our country. Fortunes in patronage are believed to have been squandered among favorites, in the form of lawyers' and directors' fees taken out of the pockets of citizens and aliens whose properties were seized or unfortunately came under the control of the Government. There is just one decent loophole of escape for us, and that is by a merciless exposure of the facts by Congress.

And what has Mr. Palmer had to say to all these charges? In answer to *The Nation's* repeated revelations he has made no direct reply at all. His response to Mr. Untermyer is a volume of personal abuse. The most damning of the charges brought by the twelve lawyers have not been denied by Mr. Palmer but have been justified with the amazing contention that aliens are not "persons" within the meaning of the provisions of the Federal Constitution guaranteeing to all such "due process of law." In support of his position he has cited various decisions of the Supreme Court to the effect that an immigrant seeking to enter this country is not considered legally of it until after he has been admitted, and until such time cannot claim the protection of our courts or Constitution as against the decisions of the immigration officials. In a brief which has just been submitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee by the twelve lawyers these facts are granted, but it is pointed out that the contention is without relevancy since in all Mr. Palmer's prosecutions the victims have been aliens already admitted to this country. Mr. Palmer's suggestion that aliens are not "persons" is demolished by a series of Supreme Court decisions of which it is sufficient to quote briefly from Yick Wo *vs.* Hopkins, 118 U. S. 356, where it is said:

> The rights of the petitioners, as affected by the proceedings of which they complain, are not less because they are aliens and subjects of the Emperor of China. . . . The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution is not confined to the protection of citizens. It says: "Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The Nation has no animus against Mr. Palmer personally. In another month he will pass from our political life, probably forever. We would gladly speed his exit and forget him, but the evil he did will live after him unless some action is taken to condemn the sinister and illegal methods that he injected into the Department of Justice and to counteract their corrupting and brutalizing effect on the personnel of our judicial machinery. Mr. Palmer should have the investigation that he asks for. Let us turn on the light and turn it on without the loss of a moment.

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Lies, Russia, and the Red Cross

THE American Red Cross ceased work in Soviet Russia in 1918 because of the Allied blockade. It is not doing relief work there now, nor has it done any relief work there, or attempted to do any for the past two and a half years, although it has engaged heavily in relief work in the train of Kolchak's, Denikin's, Judenich's, the Polish, and Wrangel's anti-Soviet armies. This relief work has been publicly acknowledged by some of these adventurers as of vast assistance in maintaining the morale of their armies and of the restless civilian population which they have tried to hold in check; they have advertised it as an inducement to the people behind the Soviet lines to revolt. It has been used as political propaganda—propaganda by food, and, conversely, propaganda by starvation. Almost the last act of Baron Wrangel before taking refuge on a French warship at Sebastopol was to award decorations to sixteen Red Cross officials, the highest civilian honor of the Czarist Government being accorded to the Chairman of the Red Cross Executive Committee in Washington. Such partisan and discriminatory relief has, we believe, been urged upon the Red Cross by our State Department. We are not aware that the Red Cross has made any serious effort to overcome this opposition.

Yet all testimony, hostile and friendly to the Soviet Government, agrees that nowhere in Europe is the need for relief greater. Were the Red Cross still true to its traditional motto "Neutrality—Humanity" it would have sought its field of action in the field of greatest need. Instead it has supinely followed the State Department's propagandist preferences. That is what *The Nation* meant when, in its issue for November 24, 1920, it said that the Red Cross had "become a propaganda tool of the State Department."

For that statement we were widely criticized. We received a flood of miscellaneous misinformation about the Red Cross and Russia. A reader in Davenport, Iowa, inclosed a set of clippings from local papers quoting a "former Red Cross worker" to the effect that the Red Cross had left Soviet Russia in 1918 because "the Bolsheviki demanded that all Red Cross workers swear allegiance to the Soviet Government or get out," and that a number of Red Cross workers had been thrown into prison. We wrote to the "Red Cross worker"; he replied that the Davenport newspapers had "editorialized"; he had not been a Red Cross, but a Y. M. C. A., worker; he knew of no Red Cross workers who had been imprisoned by the Bolsheviki; nor of any "oath of allegiance." A Cincinnati reader sent us a statement, given out at the Cincinnati headquarters of the American Red Cross, that work in Russia was impossible "because supplies sent into Soviet Russia are seized immediately by the armies." We wrote to the Cincinnati headquarters, asking when and where supplies had been so seized; we got no answer. We received other letters, with other explanations of Red Cross withdrawal from Soviet Russia in 1918 which we knew to be untrue; so we wrote direct to the highest administrative official of the Red Cross in Washington, Dr. Livingston Farrand, Chairman of the Executive Committee, asking certain specific questions. These questions and Dr. Farrand's replies are as follows:

1. When and why did the American Red Cross leave Soviet Russia? *A.* A Commission representing the American Red Cross went to Russia in August, 1917, and carried on a certain amount of relief work during the balance of that year and in the first part of 1918. Difficulties of transport made it increasingly hard to forward supplies to the Commission, and *the blockade finally stopped all shipments of relief supplies.* [Italics ours.] The last members of the Commission left Russia in the autumn of 1918. The American Red Cross Commissioner was requested to leave, I understand, by the American Consul, together with all other Americans. A further reason was that our representatives had exhausted their supplies and could obtain no more.

2. Was an oath of allegiance required of its workers? *A.* We have not heard of any such oath being required.

3. Were any of the American Red Cross workers seized before leaving? *A.* We have not heard of such experience.

4. Have any American Red Cross, or, as far as you know, any other relief supplies been seized by the Soviet armies? If so, what, when, and where? *A.* No Red Cross relief supplies have been seized by the Soviet armies. We cannot speak as to other relief supplies, but have no information as to such seizure.

5. Has the Red Cross made any attempt to work in Soviet Russia since 1918? *A.* The Red Cross has made no attempt to work in Soviet Russia since 1918.

This, then, is authoritative: the Red Cross abandoned its work in Soviet Russia in 1918 because the Allied blockade of Russian ports made shipment of relief supplies impossible. There was no interference by the Soviet Government; and no attempt has been made to work there since the blockade was nominally lifted. *The attitude of the Soviet Government, therefore, has nothing to do with the failure of the Red Cross to undertake relief work in Soviet Russia.*

Why has the Red Cross not undertaken such work? Dr. Farrand's letter is not explicit. He says:

> The Red Cross has had constantly in mind the suffering which has been reported as existing among the civilian population of Russia. The decision with regard to possible Red Cross operation in that or any other country, or in any situation, must obviously always be made in the light of many considerations. These considerations, which naturally vary with the circumstances in every instance, include notably the possibility of effective and independent operation according to Red Cross principles and standards, as well as the relative importance of demands upon the organization and the resources at its command. The Red Cross has not felt that up to this date the conditions in Soviet Russia warranted action in the light of all considerations. While no formal negotiations have taken place, informal discussions have been held, and our best judgment based upon such discussions and the knowledge and advice of our representatives and advisers best qualified to form opinions has been that such action was inadvisable. Independence and impartial operation has not been assured, and that fact as well as the presence of greater need and distress in other parts of Europe than any possible resources of the organization could meet, and yet with conditions more favorable for effective relief, has guided the policy of the Red Cross in its attitude.

We do not know with whom "informal discussions" have been held, nor who are the "advisers" of the Red Cross who consider relief in Russia "inadvisable." We suppose they are representatives of the State Department. Nor do we know what assurance of "independence and impartial operation" the Red Cross secured before undertaking the somewhat precarious and not wholly impartial task of distributing relief to and with Wrangel's legions. We do know that the Jewish Joint Distribution Board and the American Friends Service Committee have both been able to obtain ample assurance of independence in relief

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work within Soviet Russia, and that they are already distributing relief there through their own agents. (The recent statement of the State Department that the Soviet Government would tolerate "only the direct gift of supplies to the Soviet Government" was a malicious falsehood.) The Swedish Red Cross, too, is at work in Soviet Russia.

The Red Cross has recently donated about $50,000 worth of relief supplies to the American Friends Service Committee for distribution in Russia. The gift has not been publicly announced. But we hope that further gifts will be, and that this one is a first step toward the old policy of most help where there is most need, toward return to the Red Cross tradition—Neutrality, Humanity.

The Bishop for New York

There is not the slightest chance of New York's getting the bishop it ought to have. He doesn't exist.

The next bishop of New York must build the cathedral, we are told. A cathedral is the last thing which this great city needs. It is filled with stone, and brick, and mortar. Is there religion enough among us to be housed in a mighty nave? If we do not trust Christ, cathedrals are only a mockery. And we do not trust Him. We put our trust where civilization is staking its confidence—in the power of money!

The people who love the world as it is, are afraid that the Church will apprehend Christ. New York needs a bishop who will go forward penniless to seek Him. New York has not expressed a desire for such a bishop. *New York would be panic-stricken should God send him to her.*

WE have taken these words from the most remarkable editorial to appear in a religious journal in years. It is from the *Churchman*, whose brave, outspoken editor, William Austin Smith, never permits his readers to forget that this is not a world to care about unless there is a promise of its ethical redemption, unless men and women are willing to go forward in the spirit of Christ to better the conditions under which the masses live. So he has proceeded to blurt out the truth about the bishop for New York. We shall be surprised if he escapes without at least being denounced as madman or Bolshevist. For he says much more than we have quoted. He declares that when the war was over the ministers of Christ forgot the phrase "a new world" which was on everybody's lips during the struggle. They have instead "echoed men's fears—fears of bolshevism, fears of class conflict, fears for national safety." Among those, the *Churchman* declares, who have been talking loudest during the past two years, the merchants' associations, national civic federations, patriotic societies, "not a whisper has been heard that sounded like St. Francis or Loyola. Those who should have uttered the Beatitudes were dumb."

So the *Churchman's* editor wants a bishop who will "wed poverty" and thus become a "glowing leader"—this in the richest, most exclusive of our churches, those most closely knitted to Big Business, which live largely by and through the beneficiaries of special privilege. Naturally he sees that he asks the impossible. Not only would New York be panic-stricken, it would probably lynch any bishop who would thus disturb its self-satisfaction, interfere with its contented going of its own way, its control of our social and business life, and upset the holy business of money-making. The mildest characterization of him would be that he was a disciple of Lenin. Well, the vestrymen of Grace Church, of Trinity, of St. Thomas, need not worry. The new bishop, who is to be chosen while this *Nation* is on the press, will be no disturber of the traffic of the day. If he were he could not be elected; if he concealed a passion for the righteousness of Christ and were elected, the Church would speedily rid itself of him. Men may still be excommunicated; the power of a hopelessly blind reaction may still be brought to bear—as the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant can testify.

For that is the truth that lies behind the *Churchman's* article. The very churchmen who are selecting the new bishop met the other day in a church congress. There was no doubt among them as to the gravity of the crisis before them. They knew that their churches are emptying, that it is only the exceptional orator or lecturer who fills one. They are profoundly anxious as to whether they can save enough from the wreck to retain the Church as a great ethical and educational training school. They know that they have often been worshiping a kind of God which does not exist. They listen quietly to a proposal from Dr. Grant to bury the Apostles and the other creeds in the back of their books, though ten years ago the suggestion would have filled the air with indignant reprobation of this heresy, this blasphemy. Many in their hearts no longer believe in the Virgin birth—and yet they cannot face any real issue as the *Churchman* has done. They will elect a hard-working rector of a Fifth Avenue church, able, popular, and pious, but one who never lifted his voice against the clamor of the crowd, whose church is a citadel of privilege as remote as Mount McKinley from the plain people.

The pity of it is that all this is happening when men and women desire and crave religious leadership as never before. With the world crashing about our ears, with church and family and state in process of violent change, multitudes long for someone to revive hope and faith in humanity and its mission. The only thing that they ask is truth-telling and sincerity; that ministers shall practice what they preach; that they shall not pretend to follow Christ and yet turn their backs upon Him; that they shall not pretend to serve the Prince of Peace and yet compromise with war. The Episcopal Church in America particularly pays today for its support of the rulers of this country in going to war; it is right and just that it should. Perhaps some day the *Churchman* will recognize this, too.

Japan and Ourselves

IT is not as easy to champion Japan before America as it was a few years ago. The manifestations of Japanese imperialism to which the war has given rise have aroused widespread distrust quite aside from the particular questions affecting directly the relations between the United States and the Mikado's realm. But the truth is that the situation in Nippon is but little different from the conditions in other great nations. It is the Government, not the people, which is leading the Japanese into those oversea adventures which are costing her so dear in lives, in treasure, and in the favorable opinion of the world. It is the Government which insists that it is ordained to set a barrier to the westward spread of bolshevism and makes this one excuse for holding Siberian territory. It is the Government which holds Koreans as its subjects contrary to their desires and misgoverns them as we misgovern in Haiti and Santo Domingo, and England in India, Egypt, and Ireland.

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It is the government and the military party that insist upon more battleships and a great army and hang back when it comes to the question of taking the lead in any move for international disarmament. Japan is still governed by men of caste and privilege, inherited from centuries of feudal rule, men who order every socialist meeting broken up, who detest liberalism, and deny labor the right to organize.

Because there is this cleft between the masses and the Government of Japan, it is all the more necessary for the friends of the Japanese in this country to redouble their efforts to bring about an American understanding of the Japanese situation. It is in this spirit of goodwill and friendship that *The Nation* dedicates this issue to Japan and prints varying views of the problem and its underlying facts. There is one phase, however, which has not been as fully covered as we should have liked. That is the growing spirit of liberalism in the island kingdom. True, the liberal movement is still but a swaddling-clothed infant, yet it is there and it is beginning to have a press and spokesmen of its own. The beginnings of a new Japan are in sight. There are the Osaka *Mainichi* and Tokio *Yomiuri*, for instance, powerful liberal journals entirely outspoken in their demand that the Government cease attempting overseas adventures and devote itself to a program of internal reforms and the improvement of conditions among the working classes. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont has testified that it was the aid of liberal groups that made successful his mission to induce Japan to enter the Chinese Consortium without insisting upon special reservations as to Manchuria and other territory. Marquis Kato is not a liberal, yet we do attach considerable importance to his denunciation of the Japanese Siberian policy on January 21 as "more of a crime than a failure," because he, being a politician and leader of the Opposition, would not have made an attack, exposing him to the criticism of playing into the hands of the foreign critics of Japan, if there were not a strong liberal feeling in business circles, such as Mr. Lamont discovered, to warrant his laying himself open to the charge of being a "little Japanese." Whatever his motives it is of good omen that there is to be real political opposition to further aggressions in Asia. Shantung has done Japan more financial and political injury than could be offset by a hundred years of unlimited exploitation. Eventually, the new Japan will rectify this.

And how about our own relations with Japan? Well, *The Nation* can still see the beam in our own eye. We still believe the attitude of California and her politicians to be all wrong. We are proud that 222,000 Californians disregard the appeals of demagogues and voted against the new land law which will be utterly ineffective. We are still of the opinion that the United States does violence to its noblest traditions when it forbids Japanese to become naturalized citizens and otherwise discriminates against them. We believe in no regulation of Japanese immigration which is not applied to every other kind of immigration. We feel that the menace to Japan of the American battleship fleet will inevitably lead to serious conflict, if there is not soon a universal disarmament. The very fact that Japan is beginning to emerge from a feudal state and that it has much further to go and much more to tear down before it can begin to build the new social order than any other nation of first rank entitles her people to the sympathetic and patient consideration of all Americans. We ought to be the best friends in the world and we shall be if only our American and Japanese imperialists do not prevent.

Home- and Highwaywomen

IN the old days when the anti-suffragist used to walk abroad in the land, she frequently terrified the more timid of us by prophesying what would happen to home and hearth after women got the vote. Even those of us who had no home but a hall bedroom and no hearth at all used to be worried when we heard that women would lose all interest in their families and would stop bearing children. That period seems far away. The anti-suffragists are for the most part reconstructed into pretty passable citizens and prefer to have their friends forget the past, or else—but that's another story. The interesting point of inquiry is: What are the suffragists up to? How are the family and the home getting on now? "Pretty po'ly, thank you"—is the verdict of some of our most modern novelists and playwrights; but the reason, they will all tell you, is that the home needs to be modernized, renovated, refurnished with new ideas and several bay windows. And from all we can learn, it is the former suffragists who are trying to do this job for home and hearth. They have, for instance, supported the Sheppard-Towner bill for maternity and infant welfare and have forced it half way through Congress; while the antis—as we started to say above—have been opposing the measure. Doesn't it seem rather ironical for them to abandon the mothers and babies to the mercies of the suffragists?

The fact is that voting women seem to have an almost pernicious interest in the home. Take, for instance, the bill recently introduced in the Kansas House of Representatives by Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead, member from Seward County. Mrs. Grinstead, in behalf of the women of her State, is tired of spending a fourteen-hour day on manual labor and receiving as pay three meals, which she must cook herself, lodging, and the privilege of exercising her ingenuity, her charms, or her strong right arm to get a little money now and then from the Boss of the Home. Representative Grinstead wants wives to have the more dignified and prosperous status of employees doing a day's work for a wage and entitled to recover damages for injuries received while performing household duties. When the bill comes up for a vote it will probably be defeated—there are only two women in the House—and in the debate remarks will doubtless be made about the "sanctity of wifehood" and the glory to be discovered in a high pile of dirty dinner dishes. But Mrs. Grinstead will, we are sure, merely smile. An even more radical suggestion comes from Brooklyn, where a body of women has composed a petition to Congress demanding an eight-hour day for "the overworked, underpaid, dishwashing housewife," and suggesting a law to require childless married women under sixty to do house work three days a week for mothers with children. This might be rather hard on childless married women who work eight or ten hours a day in offices or factories, but perhaps some system of exemptions could be arranged.

From these measures and proposals it is obvious that women are still interested in the home—all except the antis. But they want to improve the home; and they should certainly be encouraged to do so, for as it is pointed out by Cleopatra Hurtzman, the hardy young bandit captured in Chicago, home life is an unprofitable and stale career when an enterprising highwaywoman like herself can successfully hold up five or six persons in one evening.

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Lost: Those Lower Prices

By ARTHUR WARNER

DURING the past six months the public has been told again and again that the cost of living was lower than it had been. Statistics of declining wholesale prices have been quoted, and certain instances of lower retail prices have been set forth, going to show that the consumer was better off than formerly. This information (or shall we call it propaganda?) has been used by employers not only as a ground for refusing further wage advances, but to justify extensive wage reductions in numerous industries. It is in use by retailers to induce the public to call off the "buying strike" and to help unload congested shelves. Meanwhile the public has been puzzled; it has seen assertions of a lower cost of living in the newspapers, but it has not felt them in the pocketbook. What is the matter?

The decline in wholesale prices is indisputable. One has only to follow the record of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Taking 100 as the figure for 1914, wholesale prices had advanced to 248 by January of last year. They continued to go up until May, when the peak of 272 was reached. Then the tumble began, every successive month carrying the figure down until it arrived at 189 last December. Nearly all products, raw or finished, shared in this decline, including food, which is the most important of all items to the consumer. *Bradstreet's* for January 15 of this year reported that its weekly food index number, based on the wholesale price of thirty-one articles, had dropped from 519 a year ago to 342, a cut of 32 per cent.

The evidence of lower costs is undeniable—from the standpoint of wholesale prices. In respect to retail prices, which are what interest the consumer, it has been difficult to get at the truth, but in January of this year the Bureau of Labor Statistics made public figures which go far to explain why the consumer has not felt the benefits of the lower cost of living. One reason is that the lower cost of living has not arrived. It has been lost somewhere between the producer and the consumer. The first figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics were limited to eight large cities. In every instance an appreciable, although not an important, reduction in the cost of living is indicated between June and December of last year. This has been featured in the newspapers, but the real significance of the figures has been ignored; that is, that although there was some reduction in the cost of living in the last six months of 1920, it was just about enough to compensate the consumer for the advance that took place during the first six months. In other words, during a year which saw a reduction in wholesale prices from an index figure of 248 to 189, there seems to have been virtually no change in the cost of living to the consumer. Below is the percentage of increase or decrease in the cost of living for the periods stated:

	June, 1920, to December, 1920	December, 1919, to December, 1920
Baltimore	8.2 per cent decrease	0.8 per cent decrease
Chicago	9.9 per cent decrease	3.6 per cent decrease
Cleveland	5.9 per cent decrease	4.6 per cent *increase*
Detroit	7.4 per cent decrease	5.1 per cent *increase*
New York	8.1 per cent decrease	1.2 per cent decrease
Philadelphia ...	6.0 per cent decrease	2.1 per cent *increase*
San Francisco...	5.6 per cent decrease	1.4 per cent decrease
Seattle	7.8 per cent decrease	1.8 per cent decrease

Thus it appears that while there was some decrease in the cost of living in each instance between June and December of last year, there was an actual increase for the year as a whole in three of the eight cities, and in no case was there a decrease sufficient to be noted by anybody but an official statistician. These figures for eight cities have since been supplemented by records from twenty-four others, which still further accentuate the tendency noted. Twenty-two of the total of thirty-two cities show an increase in the cost of living for December last over that for the same month a year previous.

In its records of the eight cities the Bureau of Labor Statistics divides the cost of living under six heads: food, clothing, housing, fuel and light, furniture and furnishings, and miscellaneous. Food, which accounts for from 33 per cent (Seattle) to 42 per cent (New York and Baltimore) of the total, shows some decline in all cases for the year 1920, but nothing comparable to the 32 per cent drop in wholesale prices reported by *Bradstreet's* for the same period. The retail cost of clothing shows declines everywhere except in San Francisco and Seattle, but clothing is only 15 per cent of the average budget. The other items—housing, fuel and light, furniture and furnishings, and miscellaneous—show increases for the year 1920. Indeed, "housing" and "miscellaneous" show an advance in all of the eight cities even for the period from June to December; the same is true of fuel and lighting, except in San Francisco and Seattle. "Miscellaneous" may sound unimportant, but it is made to include from 18 per cent (Detroit) to 25 per cent (Seattle) of the total budget, and is larger than any other item except that of food.

Now, the importance of considering the change in the cost of living for the entire year 1920, and not merely for the last six months, lies in this, that almost all wage and salary advances were obtained either during the war or during the first year after the armistice. Only a few gains were recorded during the winter of 1920 and virtually none after the spring. Hence, reduction of wages is not justified on the ground of any change in the cost of living to date. Of course it is said—and with some justice except in regard to food—that declines in retail prices must inevitably lag several months behind those in wholesale rates, since it takes time to convert raw products into finished articles and to get them on the market. This would be more reassuring if it were not for the fact that wholesale prices are showing a tendency at the moment to appreciate again. This tendency may be only temporary, but it gives pause to one's hopefulness for the outlook of the consumer. *Bradstreet's* for January 15 says that "for the first time in eight months the number of articles advancing in price this week exceeds those declining." Of eighty commodities at wholesale twenty advanced over the week previous, while sixteen declined and forty-four remained unchanged. A New York dispatch to the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* under date of January 7 said: "Prices for finished cotton fabrics are taking an upward trend."

The situation of the consumer reminds one of the old but excellent story of the judge and the preacher. "I can send a man to the gallows," boasted the judge. "I can consign him to hell," retorted the preacher. "Yes," said the judge, "but when I send him to the gallows, he goes." When an employer reduces wages, they are reduced; when the propagandists reduce the cost of living—well, that's another story.

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The Cable Control Controversy

By GEORGE T. ODELL

IN the controversy now going on between representatives of the United States and those of other governments regarding the disposition of the German cables seized at the beginning of the World War and since made a part of the British, French, and Japanese systems, the point has been raised whether any nation can successfully develop an export business without controlling some means of telegraphic communication that is protected against the espionage of its commercial rivals. This question has been raised both in the International Communications Conference and before a sub-committee of the United States Senate which is considering cable legislation. There the statements have been made that Great Britain now has almost a complete monopoly of cable communication throughout the world and that a large proportion of the messages pertaining to the export and import business of the United States pass under the watchful eyes of our principal commercial rival. Even the news of the world, whether it originates in Europe, in Asia, or in Africa, flows through the neck of the bottle at London before it reaches the United States, while American news-distributing agencies are forced to disseminate their reports through the same narrow orifice. This concentration of the means of communication has resulted in clogged wires, frequent long delays in transmitting press dispatches, and oftentimes emasculation if not actual suppression of news.

First, however, it is necessary to give a very brief outline of Germany's experience in expanding her foreign commerce and to show the analogy between her position twenty-five years ago and that of America today. In pursuance of the deliberate policy formulated by Bismarck of transforming the German Empire from a self-supporting agrarian state into an industrial nation, Germany began enlarging her merchant marine to transport her manufactured products and to insure a steady influx of raw materials and to scatter agents throughout the world to solicit trade. These things were done openly, of course, because there is no way for a nation to keep the volume of its shipping or the fact that it has thousands of agents abroad actively seeking business from the knowledge of the rest of the world. Every merchant engaged in a highly competitive enterprise knows, however, how important it is to maintain secrecy in negotiations, and Germany was soon to discover that this sort of secrecy she could not command. The weak points in her commercial armor were that her financial transactions abroad were conducted through the agents or branch banks of her rivals and her cable communications passed through the neck of the bottle in London. Both of these defects the Germans sought to remedy, and in course of time she had her own cables in both the Atlantic and Pacific as well as her own fiscal agents and branch banks at strategic points throughout the world. Her rapid development as an exporting nation is too well known to require further comment.

In the matter of foreign-trade development the United States stands today upon the threshold where Germany stood a quarter of a century ago. Thanks to the war a merchant fleet has been created in an unprecedented short space of time, while that which it took Germany twenty-five years to build has either been shattered or dispersed among the victors of the war, leaving England and Japan as our principal rivals in this field. American commercial agents are scattering throughout the universe in search of trade, and American banks are beginning to reach out into foreign lands. But, in the apparatus of communication we are almost entirely lacking. Like Germany at the beginning of her commercial expansion, the United States is compelled to conduct her secret trade negotiations with Europe and Africa, and to a large extent with Asia and South America, through this same neck of the bottle at London.

In discussing this handicap to America's foreign trade before the Senate sub-committee, Newcomb Carlton, president of the Western Union Telegraph and Cable Company, declared that it would be impossible for the British to maintain an espionage over cable communication which would acquaint them with the contents of all commercial messages passing over their lines. Whether that is true or not will be examined presently, but the obvious answer to Mr. Carlton's contention was made by Mr. Walter Rogers, one of the American representatives at the International Communications Conference. He said:

> It is not necessary for British censors to decode all commercial messages or to examine closely their contents. The advantage which British commerce gains from having the cable communications of the world pass under surveillance at London is much more easily obtained. For example, a merchant in Buenos Aires cables to an American shoe manufacturer in Massachusetts, and some one in London notes the names of the sender and the addressee, which he immediately communicates to a competing shoe manufacturer, who in turn—knowing of course the character of shoes made by the New England concern and the general run of its prices—cables to his representative in Buenos Aires that such and such a merchant is in the market for shoes and is negotiating with So-and-so in Massachusetts. Or a firm of electrical contractors in Cincinnati cables to some manufacturer of electrical goods in Germany, indicating that the American firm is in the market for German electrical machinery, and that word is immediately passed on to a competitor. A tip to the wise is oftentimes sufficient in competitive commerce.

Of course these are elementary examples, although hundreds of messages passing over the cables daily are quite as simple. But though some of the processes for maintaining secrecy are much more complicated they are none the less intelligible to those under whose scrutiny such messages pass. The practice of Great Britain during the war of opening all mail, whether of ally, neutral, or enemy origin and destination, and of censoring cables and intercepting wireless dispatches at receiving stations scattered all over the world, has added vast sums to their knowledge of commercial secrets, as we shall now proceed to show. The documentary evidence consists of a report to the British Foreign Office from the War Trade Intelligence Department, dated June 12, 1917. The covering letter is as follows:

"The chairman of the War Trade Intelligence Department presents his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and begs to submit the inclosed papers respecting German influence in the American metal market, which may prove of interest." This document contains information of great value to the British metal

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trade which was obtained from "intercepted letters" and from cable and wireless dispatches. It is not a revelation of Germany's attempts to get contraband metals past the blockade, but the purpose of it is to give in detail information concerning negotiations of mining and metal-producing concerns in the United States and South and Central America with German merchants, manufacturers, and financiers for the rehabilitation of their industries after peace has been declared. These negotiations occurred before the United States or any of the South or Central American countries had entered the war against Germany. This document was printed and widely circulated among those to whom such information would be extremely valuable. In making these revelations of trade negotiations and agreements which were obtained largely through the interception of letters, cables, and wireless messages, the War Trade Intelligence Department makes no distinction between bona fide American concerns and those owned outright by Germans or in which they had an interest. For instance, the opening paragraph states that

> The following notes deal in detail with the recent activities of the leading American firms of metal merchants with intimate German connections:
>
> 1. The American Smelting and Refining Company;
> 2. L. Vogelstein & Co.;
> 3. Beer, Sondheimer & Co.;
> 4. The American Metal Company.

Concerning the American Smelting Company and its subsidiaries the report says:

> It should be made clear at the outset that this group is on a different footing from the rest of those dealt with in this memorandum in that it consists of *bona fide* [italicized in the document] American concerns with headquarters in the United States. The American Smelting Company's German associations are due not to domination of German capital, but to the importance which motives of a purely commercial character lead it to attach to the German market.

This company maintained a European representative, Paul Koning, who

> remained in Berlin until his temporary removal to Zurich in the summer of 1916, . . . and as a result of his efforts the company is committed to playing an important part in the industrial rehabilitation of the enemy on the conclusion of peace. The extent of these commitments can be clearly seen from the mass of intercepted letters passing between Koning and the New York head office.

The contents of these letters are given in an extended summary with voluminous quotations. From this "mass of intercepted letters" the War Trade Intelligence Department is able to advise its British connections as to the amount of copper held by the American Smelting Company for "enemy" purchasers and of the contracts made during the war for post-war delivery. It also reveals the negotiations in progress for the purchase of certain German-owned mines in Southwest Africa by the American company and also the details concerning the methods for financing these and other transactions. Even the transactions of this "bona fide" American company in Peru, Chile, and Mexico are exposed in this memorandum by summaries and excerpts of letters and messages which passed through the "neck of the bottle" at London.

The same intimate details gathered from letters and cable dispatches are set forth in the memoranda on L. Vogelstein & Co., Beer, Sondheimer & Co., and the American Metal Company, and, while it is true that the Alien Property Custodian in his report of February 22, 1919, shows that there were large German interests in these three concerns, the point involved here is that the system of espionage over communications, whether by mail, cable, or wireless, maintained by the British Government, was so inclusive and minute that the War Trade Intelligence Department is able to report the contents of letters and messages originating in all parts of the world and to link them all up with the transactions of these four concerns so as to expose with complete details their most intimate business secrets. Nor is there anything in the entire document, save occasional references to prize-court or other legal proceedings, to show that any attempt was being made to furnish Germany with contraband metals or ores during the war, but on the contrary all of the transactions revealed have to do with the plans of German merchants and manufacturers and their American and other foreign correspondents to rehabilitate their industries after peace has been declared. Thus it appears that there was indeed a most minute examination of all communications which fell into British hands, which enabled this Department of the Government to expose in a printed document of twenty-eight pages the plans of its rivals in the metal industries in the United States, Mexico, the South American republics, and Germany for rehabilitation after hostilities should have ceased. Such information was of incalculable value to the British metal trade.

That Great Britain has not abandoned this policy and system of prying into the trade secrets of her rivals in so far as control of the means of telegraphic communication enables her to do so was made graphically plain only a few days ago by Newcomb Carlton in his testimony before the Senate sub-committee. With the utmost reluctance, "because it might make trouble," he explained the present system of surveillance over the cables thus:

> Ten days after messages have been transmitted our copies of them are turned over to the British secret service which keeps them for twenty-four hours and then returns them. No exception is made and the American official dispatches like the dispatches of all other countries to and from England are included, but I have reason to believe that no examination is made of them. I have been assured that the official messages are not even inspected, but they are in the physical possession of the authorities while other messages are being inspected.

Mr. Carlton's explanation of this surveillance was that it was necessary on account of the "disturbed conditions in England and Europe," and he intimated that France and Japan take more complete control of cables passing through their territory than England does.

Admiral Benson, Walter S. Rogers, and Under-Secretary of State Davis, the American delegates to the International Communications Conference, deserve great credit for having blocked the scheme which England, France, and Japan had prearranged before the conference met, to take to themselves the German cables, both in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, thus leaving the United States practically without any means of direct telegraphic communication with Central Europe and the East Indies or Africa. The outcome of the controversy is still uncertain, but whether the German cables are returned to their former owners or, even if they are turned over to the United States, the American Government will still have a serious international problem to solve with reference to the privacy of commercial cable messages, if its merchant-marine policy is to be successfully carried out and American trade is to prosper in the competitive markets of the world.

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The Japanese Problem

By BRUCE BLIVEN

THE Japanese question probably exists for most Americans as a California problem. Some of us, it is true, see it as a matter for the United States as a whole, and a few realize that the British Dominions, and Australia in particular, are also concerned. From time to time we hear of it as affecting adjacent portions of the continent of Asia. Yet the fact remains that the Japanese question is most serious for the Japanese themselves.

With an overcrowded country, whose soil cannot by any artifice be made greatly to increase its yield, with a population growing very rapidly in numbers, the Japanese are forced, in sheer desperation, to emigrate and colonize. Yet wherever they turn they find the doors closed or closing in their faces. Their situation was summed up by one of their statesmen at the Versailles conference who said one day to a group of his Western colleagues: "We in Japan realize with what unfriendly eyes you view our colonization upon the continent of Asia. But, gentlemen, what is Japan to do? Her territory is already incapable of producing enough food to support her population—and that population is increasing at the rate of three-quarters of a million per annum!"

The Japanese Empire has some 77,000,000 people in an area of about 260,000 square miles. Japan herself has 56,000,000 in 148,000 square miles, giving a density of 380 per square mile. The actual density is probably much greater than this, for from the surface area must be deducted a large proportion of uninhabitable mountain land. Even that figure seems high enough, however, when you realize that the average density of the United States is only 35.

The Japanese are reported to be increasing at the rate of about 12 per cent per decade, a growth with which even the most intensified form of agriculture cannot cope. There are only three solutions to such a problem. The first is artificial limitation of the birth-rate, a doctrine at which nearly all governments look askance, and which in any event could hardly have much effect upon the situation in less than a generation. The second is to do what England has done—become an industrial community, manufacturing products to be exchanged for food from overseas. Japan is now in the midst of a great industrial revolution which may eventually assume such a character; but the hostility to the Japanese and their goods, as evidenced in the boycotts in China and Australia, make this process a slow one. The third alternative, and the one with which the Japanese Government has concerned itself most seriously, is emigration.

By far the greater bulk of this emigration in recent years has been toward the west, colonizing those parts of Asia which are adjacent to Japan and similar in climate, for the Japanese settler is not happy in extremely cold or extremely hot countries. Some settlers, however, have drifted eastward across the Pacific into South America, Mexico, the United States, and Canada. It is the group, small in proportion to the whole movement, which has settled in California which has produced the present serious situation.

That it is indeed serious, need not be argued to any careful follower of the daily press. Against the nationals of one of the proudest races on earth, California has passed legislation which is sharply and admittedly discriminatory. The jingo press of Japan has been shrieking for years that America's action could only be answered by war; and the fact that the Japanese Government has up to now confined its protests to official representations at Washington is a testimonial as to its pacific intentions. The country, it is true, is in no economic position to go to war with the United States; but every student of history knows that when their toes are stepped on with sufficient rudeness, nations have an unpleasant habit of going to war whether they are economically prepared or not. And a war with Japan in which the United States was victorious would be hardly less a national calamity to our country than an unsuccessful one.

Most Californians who take any interest in the Japanese question at all—and there are plenty who do not—will tell you that the conflict between the races is primarily economic, and not social. A short time ago I traveled through California from end to end, talking with citizens in all parts of the State about this question, and I found that everywhere the belief prevailed that the Japanese are an overwhelming economic menace. Most of the hostility was based upon this assumption. While it is far from my intention to deny that there is an economic conflict between the races in California, I am convinced that this factor is of less importance than most Californians will admit, and that the antipathy of the white man for the yellow, skilfully engendered by politicians and by part of the press, is a principal element.

It is true that the Japanese in California are growing in numbers; and they would certainly continue to grow in influence were it not for the checks which have been put upon them by hostile legislation. Twenty years ago the Japanese population of California was negligible. Ten years ago it was 41,000. Today, according to the estimate of the State Board of Control, there are 87,000, which is more than 80 per cent of the total Japanese population of the United States. (The anti-Japanese propagandists in California claim that the figure is very much larger than this, that the Japanese have systematically evaded registration in the census, and that there are more than 100,000 in California.)

It is worth noting that while the Japanese population has doubled in the past decade, the acreage of agricultural land they control has increased by more than 400 per cent. At the present time the Japanese are operating about 450,000 acres. Even more striking is the great increase in the value of the crops produced by Japanese farmers. In 1909 these had a market value of $6,200,000. In eleven years the value has increased more than one thousand per cent, to $67,100,000.

This great increase in acreage and the market value of crops does not necessarily mean, however, that white settlers have been driven from this amount of land by the Japanese—though one would get that impression from some of the anti-Japanese documents issued in California. During the last decade in particular, the Japanese have re-

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claimed a large amount of swamp and arid land which had been declared by American farmers to be unworkable. Moreover, those California crops which are most profitable to the American rancher have the smallest percentage of Japanese participation. This is notably true of citrus fruits, wheat, walnuts, etc. On the other hand, the production of berries, small vegetables, and the like is largely dominated by the Japanese, who raise from 80 to 90 per cent of the annual total. The Japanese also declare in their own defense, when they are accused of crowding the white man out of the agriculture of California, that there is such a movement of white men from the farms to the cities that without Japanese aid agriculture could not be carried on in California at present at all.

An important phase of the economic question has to do with depreciation in the value of land in any community where the Japanese are admitted. The racial antipathy expresses itself in a dislike on the part of white Californians to having their children in school with the Japanese. As a San Joaquin Valley rancher said to me, "The Japanese just won't 'neighbor.' You might as well live alone in the middle of a desert as to live with Japanese around you. I won't let my children go to school with them, and I won't have anything to do with them if I can help it." For this reason the advent of even one Japanese settler in any community means a prompt depreciation in the value of farm lands in that neighborhood, just as the advent of one Negro in a block in a Northern city means a lowering of real estate values throughout the block.

What the ultimate solution of the Japanese question will be, it is not my purpose to discuss here. No one has ever made a careful study of the biological side of miscegenation, though I believe competent authorities now declare that the supposed weakness, mental and physical, of the half-breed children has no basis in fact. As to what ought to be done in the immediate present, however, it is easier to speak. That the United States will join with the British Dominions in an anti-Asiatic pact seems extremely unlikely. It seems equally clear that for purely practical and opportunist reasons the Japanese must be excluded from the United States for a long time to come. This exclusion, however, should be made the subject of a new and definite treaty, such as is now being discussed in Washington and Tokio. The danger of having so important and controversial a subject left to the mercies of a Gentleman's Agreement is obvious.

Japanese immigration should, in my judgment, be flatly prohibited, except in the case of students, business and professional men, and these should enter the United States for a stipulated period of time, at the end of which they will be liable to deportation. Those Japanese already in the United States should, however, be given all the privileges which are accorded to other aliens in this country. In particular, the new law passed in California on November 2, prohibiting even leaseholds on land to Japanese, should be repealed. Thoughtful Californians already recognize that this law can be evaded without much more difficulty than the famous act of 1913, which prohibited ownership of land and limited leaseholds to three years, and which had hardly been placed upon the statute books before it became a dead letter. Governor Stephens has himself declared that he believes the new law will prove unworkable. "It will not, I fear," he says, "forestall the ingenuity of legal counsel in enabling the Japanese to remain in control of their agricultural holdings under various forms of personal employment contracts. . . . It is impossible for the State to enact constitutional legislation prohibiting personal employment contracts with Japanese on account of various provisions in our Federal Constitution, recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and also certain provisions of the treaty between Japan and the United States."

This being so, there seems to be little point in leaving on the statute books of the State of California a law which provokes such bitter animosity. Within the past few weeks many Japanese have left California to return to their native land, and the reason given in at least some instances has been their humiliation over the treatment given them by the Californians. It is hardly fair to say that the California law works no hardship on the Japanese as long as the Japanese have a similar law regarding land ownership by foreigners; the obvious difference is that very many Japanese do want to use land in California, and that no American, practically speaking, has any desire to own land in Japan.

I am suggesting annulment of the special legislation, not because I think Americans ought to be afraid of the Japanese, and conciliate them, but because it seems to me to be just—as justice goes between races alien to one another. I believe that Japanese statesmanship is sufficiently intelligent to prevent an attitude of belligerency toward the United States because of the exclusion of new Japanese immigration, provided only that the Japanese now in this country be given treatment which is on an equality with that given to other aliens. Failure on the part of the United States to go this far along the road to justice seems almost sure to lead to war. And we have had enough war.

The Two Japans

By THOMAS W. LAMONT

THERE are two schools of thought in Japan and the cleavage is a deep one. In general the men of affairs —manufacturers, great merchants, and bankers—are liberal in their ideas. They believe, as we do here in America, that a nation's development, to be sound and sure, must be along lines of peaceful trade and the cultivation of goodwill. The other party in Japan, the militarists, have a somewhat different philosophy. They might not admit it, but if you study their actions you will realize that they still think the world is ruled by force rather than by ideas. They believe in a mighty army and navy. They are sincerely convinced that Japan's safety and future lie in having a dominating influence on the continent of Asia. They have taken Korea and made it a part of Japan, incidentally improving its material condition distinctly. They hold Port Arthur. They took Shantung from the Germans in the recent war and so far seem to have Japanized it far more completely than it was ever Teutonized during the years that Germany held it. They have seized Vladivostok on the Siberian coast; they control the mouth of the Amur River, and they have recently occupied the Russian half of the Island of Sakhalin. In reciting this I am not criticizing: I am merely summarizing what the newspapers have told us hundreds of times.

Now the Japanese military party has pursued this policy on the theory that in these measures lies the only sound

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defense of her national safety that Japan could devise. The militarists sincerely feel that to make a food supply certain for their growing population domination of a part of Asia is necessary; ordinary trading is not secure enough. This is a political philosophy which is perfectly understandable. But in the pursuance of its policy, according to the liberals in Japan, this military party seems to have overlooked certain economic considerations. Their efforts in China, their expeditions to Siberia have been enormously expensive. Every year they have cost hundreds of millions of yen. And the increase of the navy and the maintenance of the army are a serious burden upon the people of Japan. Her national debt is inconsiderable, but her taxes are heavy and an extraordinary proportion of her budget is for the military establishment. Japan is not a rich country in the sense that Great Britain or America or France is rich; that is to say, she is lacking in natural resources—coal, oil, iron ore, etc. And her people cannot afford these heavy outlays unless they bring in compensating dividends.

They do not. On the contrary they seem to bring liabilities. For instance, because of Japan's Twenty-one Demands, served on China in 1918, and because of her action as to Shantung there has been an intense boycott of Japanese goods throughout China. Japan has lost—at any rate for the moment—a part of her most valuable foreign trade. As one of her leading government officials said to me, in Far Western slang, "We are in terribly Dutch in China. By becoming partners in the new Consortium with Americans, who are popular in China, we hope now to fare somewhat better."

Speaking in general, we American people have not a very intelligent understanding of our relations with Japan. We are apt to be strongly pro-Japanese or strongly anti-Japanese. We are apt, because the military party is powerful, to criticize the Japanese as being a militaristic nation, whereas, in my judgment, they are a nation loving peace and ardently desirous of peace with the United States. We criticize them for burdening their people with taxes for a large army and navy, and at the same time we fail to look at our own government estimates and note that this year they provide that 40 per cent of our total Federal income is to be used for our army and navy; that we are planning to spend on our own military establishment this year over one and one-half times what our total government debt was before the war. If we are to solve our outstanding questions with Japan we must not forget that now and then we have a beam in our own eye. We should be tolerant in our judgment of nations as well as of men. Since the days of Commodore Perry, Japan has looked upon the United States as an old-time friend and helper. There is every reason why the two nations should be on the closest and friendliest footing. Even the perplexing immigration question is susceptible of amicable settlement if only we Americans show a little tact and a respect for Japanese susceptibilities. The Japanese are one of the most ancient and proudest people on the earth. Their manners to foreign visitors are a revelation of grace and courtesy. They expect in return a little of that same deportment. It isn't so much what we do on the immigration question as the way we do it. Certainly to one who has gained an intimate glimpse of the Japanese, it would seem certain that, with any ingenuity at all, we ought to be able to devise a formula that would meet the views of California and at the same time measurably satisfy the Japanese.

California and the Japanese

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

MANY people in the Eastern States are no doubt surprised that California's anti-Japanese Land Initiative Law was adopted at the recent election by so large a majority as 668,483 to 222,086, or about 3 to 1. Here in California everybody is amazed that the majority was so small. On the eve of the election it was a universal belief in California that the Alien Land Law would be adopted by an overwhelming majority. Its proponents had boastfully announced that it would pass by a vote of at least 9 to 1, if not unanimously. The public accepted this prediction with no dissenting voice. The Japanese, in calm resignation, expected nothing better.

This universal forecast was supported by ample reason. For two years or more, a coterie of politicians had conducted a vigorous propaganda against the Japanese. Up and down the State they marshaled anti-Japanese forces. They organized a dozen associations under various names, all aiming at the persecution of the Japanese. The American Legion, or at least many of its California posts, rallied under their flag. That celebrated body, the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, accepted their leadership. They had the solid backing of the press, with Mr. Hearst's enterprising papers and the Sacramento *Bee* in the forefront. Not a day passed but these newspapers published vitriolic anti-Japanese news stories or editorials, often absolutely groundless, always conceived to rouse suspicion or resentment toward the Japanese. To incite public sentiment against the Japanese and thus aid the passage of the Alien Land Law, the newspapers, as the election drew nigh, even published the stories of an alleged Japanese attempt to poison a "society" woman in Los Angeles and an alleged Japanese assault on an American girl in San Francisco—stories absolutely groundless. Of late the anti-Japanese forces have summoned to their aid even moving pictures and novels to rouse race hatred against the Japanese.

In the early stages of this agitation Governor Stephens openly and vigorously denounced agitators, attributing their motive to political preferment. In those days the essential facts concerning the Japanese were as well known to the Governor as they have since become more widely known through the report of the State Board of Control. And yet this Republican Governor, on the eve of the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, proclaimed from the housetops that he and his party were just as anti-Japanese as the Democratic Senator from California and his party.

In the face of this propaganda, political and journalistic, the "decent Christian" Californians sat still and watched the performance of the agitators, with apprehension perhaps, but with folded arms. They were in sympathy with the Japanese, but were too "decent" to go to the bat and give battle to the agitators. As for the Japanese, they were helpless and hopeless. To them the channel of publicity was completely closed. If a Japanese association sent out a correction to a falsehood issued by the other side and given wide publicity by the press, it was completely ignored by the editors. Very often the editors would print only those parts of our statements which were favorable to the other side. At times they would distort and garble our

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statements so as to convey ideas exactly opposite to what we intended to convey.

Such was the atmosphere in which the Alien Land Law was born and nurtured. Is it any wonder that the unanimous adoption of the law was expected alike by the Japanese and by the Americans? Can it be wondered that California was amazed by the smallness of the vote which passed that law? In the face of the vitriolic campaign waged against the Japanese during the past two years, it seems nothing short of a miracle that 222,086 votes were cast against the law and in favor of the Japanese. When California submitted the Chinese question to the popular vote in 1878, only 880 voted in favor of the Chinese.

California has 1,360,000 registered voters, of whom nearly 400,000 did not vote on November 2. It is reasonable to presume that a great majority of these 400,000 were intelligent, fair-minded, and naturally sympathetic toward the Japanese. They were disgusted with politics and politicians, and went on a sort of political "hunger-strike." Had these intelligent fair-minded voters voted, I am quite certain that the vote in favor of the Japanese would have been much larger. With these voters forfeiting their votes, with other sympathetic citizens taking but lukewarm interest in the Japanese, we have nevertheless seen 222,000 votes cast against the anti-Japanese law.

True, on the eve of the election some public-spirited justice-loving Californians became alarmed by the extreme to which the anti-Japanese agitation had carried itself, and voluntarily came to the rescue of the Japanese. These Californians not only had the courage of their convictions, but made a considerable material sacrifice to place their arguments before the public. But this movement came too late. It came after an anti-Japanese sentiment had been so extensively and intensively cultivated by the propagandists that the publication at the eleventh hour of a few arguments in advertising columns in newspapers could have no material effect upon the vote.

How, then, can we account for the failure of the universal prediction that the Alien Land Law would be adopted by a vote of 9 to 1? In the judgment of experienced observers, the main reason lies in the fact that the present anti-Japanese feeling is not a spontaneous but a manufactured one, founded upon neither the pressing need nor the real fear of the people of California. Had the Japanese constituted a real and imminent menace, half the agitation that was directed against them would have been enough to set a race feeling aflame and secure an undivided vote upon any such proposition as the Alien Land Law.

The fact of the matter is that the growth of the Japanese population or Japanese land holdings is yet far from a stage wherein the bogy of the Japanese menace can be effectively employed to scare the public or to stir up race hatred against the Japanese. The situation may be summed up somewhat like this: Most of the intelligent Californians, who think about the question at all and who constitute the minority, are with the Japanese. Most of the unthinking Californians, who naturally constitute the majority of the voters, are against the Japanese, not for any particular reason, but because they are influenced by agitation.

There is no doubt that the political agitators and self-seeking newspapers have failed in their endeavor to rouse race hatred against the Japanese. For the Japanese has the innate capacity of getting along amicably with Americans. Oriental only in the color of his skin, he is, in his mental attitude and his temperament, essentially occidental. His difference from other races is not so great as to create an insurmountable barrier against him in a Western community. Even in the present regrettable condition in California, engendered by persistent agitation, there is no trouble between Japanese and Americans who come in contact with one another. Japanese employ, and are employed by, Americans. Americans are glad to employ, or to be employed by, Japanese. Caucasian workers work side by side with Japanese with no friction between them. At hotels and cafes and at houses of amusement there is no disposition to discriminate against the Japanese. No Japanese has suffered physical attack, no property owned by Japanese has been damaged. And this in spite of all the efforts of agitators and the press to foment antagonism against the Japanese. But for such vicious efforts the Japanese and Americans can get along harmoniously.

If California is only disposed to apply reason and wisdom to the Japanese question, its solution ought not to be difficult. For Japan is but too anxious to dispose of the question if she can only do so without jeopardizing the dignity and honor in which the Powers have by common consent clothed her. He talks "through his hat" who says that Tokio is scheming to perpetuate the California question, utilizing it as a smoke-screen behind which Japan may advance her interests in the Far East. Let us ignore such twaddle, even though it has been voiced by the president of a great university, and seriously consider the basis upon which Japan and America may come to an agreement. This basis, I think, can be found in the following propositions:

1. America must find a way to guarantee to the Japanese the enjoyment of all privileges accorded to aliens coming from the "most favored" country. This does not necessarily mean the granting of citizenship to the Japanese, nor will Japan ask for it as long as no individual State attempts intentionally to discriminate against the Japanese under the pretence of legislation applicable to all aliens.

2. Japan must agree to stop the emigration of her subjects to America with these three exceptions: (a) Japanese who are lawfully here and who have established independent business, commercial or agricultural, should be allowed to send for wives whom they had married before they came to America, or to go to Japan for marriage and return here with wives within reasonable time. (b) Japanese lawfully admitted and having established business in this country should be allowed to send for their children under a certain age, whom they had left in Japan, and who depend upon their support. (c) Japanese lawfully admitted and establishing domicile in this country should be allowed to go and visit Japan with the privilege of returning.

This restrictive and discriminatory measure with regard to Japanese immigration should be couched in plain terms which permit of no misunderstanding, but should not be included in a formal treaty of amity and commerce. It can as well be provided in diplomatic notes to be exchanged between the representatives of the two Governments and to be made public in both countries. This will protect Japan's dignity as a foremost Power, and will, at the same time, prove far more effective than the present Gentleman's Agreement. It is even more restrictive than the rigid immigration bill proposed by Representative Albert Johnson and adopted by the House. "Live and let live" should be the guiding principle not only among individuals, but among nations and races.

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Japanese Imperialism

By MILES M. SHEROWER

IS peace between America and Japan to be preserved? Is war inevitable? On both sides of the Pacific the jingo press is "playing up" alarming stories that would seem to indicate a widening rift between the two nations. Never has there been such need of plain talking on international relations, of a thorough understanding of the problems involved, of the principles at stake, and of the forces that are driving us toward the unspeakable calamity of war. It is axiomatic that it takes two to make a fight. There will be no war unless Japan wants it. Examining facts dispassionately one cannot avoid the conclusion that the Japanese-American situation abounds with inflammable material that needs only a spark to set off another world conflagration. Let us examine the situation in Japan.

The Japanese ruling class faces an extremely complicated situation at home. Prior to 1914 Japan was economically a second-rate Power, without hope of ever rising higher. Her war chests were depleted, her mercantile and industrial progress was comparatively stagnant. The European War brought a temporary flush to the cheeks of a nation that had not yet recovered from the exhaustion of her struggle with Russia. But in spite of vast fortunes made during the war, seemingly ample reserves, Japan's economic position today is most unenviable. Unemployment is rife and will become more acute as the present world-wide economic slump hits bottom. Where only yesterday her factories hummed to the whir of machinery, silence reigns. Japan's reaction is undoubtedly more severe than is commonly suspected, for her depression set in eighteen months ago when China launched the most effective commercial boycott against her that the world has yet seen.

Besides, Japan is approaching the bursting-point from overpopulation. Upon the shoulders of her leaders rests the responsibility of caring for her surplus masses. The country is not able today to produce sufficient food to supply its immense domestic demand. Japan has been compelled to go to the Philippines, to French Saigon, to Australia, to China and Manchuria in search of rice, wheat, and other staples. Overpopulation is an immediate problem, and outside of birth control, which would require a long educational campaign, there are only two ways to meet it. One is to send the surplus population abroad to shift for itself; the other is to keep it at home and find means and methods of feeding it.

The former involves colonization, and here Japan is faced by a stone wall. Where can she send her millions? Australia, Canada, the United States, and the other "white" countries on the Pacific have effectively put up the bars. China as a field for colonization is eliminated because she herself is overpopulated and undergoes periodical famines. There has been some emigration to Korea since its annexation to Japan, but the Nipponese farmer finds it well nigh impossible to compete with the hardy Korean, whose standard of living is even lower than his own. Even if the Russians in Siberia did not object to the Japanese, the latter would be unable to endure the severe climatic conditions there. The Japanese is unable to withstand either extremes of temperature. Large-scale emigration appears impossible and at best could only palliate an increasingly acute problem.

The latter alternative means keeping the population at home and feeding it by importation of food from abroad. But food must be paid for, and the bill can only be met in international commerce by exports. Since Japan is comparatively poor in natural resources and has practically no raw products, she can pay for food only by "cashing in" her one great resource—abundant labor power. She is thus forced by inexorable natural and economic laws into the industrial groove and in her search for markets comes into direct competition with America, England, France, Germany, and the other industrial states. With the exception of silk, in which commodity conditions peculiarly favor her, Japan must enter the industrial race on practically equal terms with all competitors. Where can she sell her goods? Certainly not in the home fields of her rivals. There she is debarred by protective tariffs, her own industrial immaturity, and other insurmountable factors. She must wind her way into industrially undeveloped regions where her rivals are as yet without preponderant influence and control, and where the goods demanded by the native population are within her limited technical skill to produce. These ideal conditions Japan finds in China, India, the Philippines, and Java.

Still another important factor. Lacking largely the natural resources which constitute the essential foundations of an industrially powerful nation, with no iron ore and but little coal, Japan is largely dependent for these essentials upon her neighbor, China. She raises not a pound of cotton, yet her spinning industry is a close rival to that of the United States or England. For much of her lumber she has to go to Siberia. In short, Japan is economically self-sufficient neither in food supplies nor in the raw materials that will keep her teeming millions at their benches in shop and factory. Her economic status is almost wholly dependent on China, which not only supplies Japan with food and raw materials, but also furnishes a profitable market for Nippon's industrial output.

Japan is apprehensive of her national existence if her sources of supply pass out of her reach. She knows that her future and her prosperity are at the mercy of any Power able to wrest from her the control of the regions she deems vital to her industrial existence. She fears lest some Power secure a point of vantage from which it may intercept her line of communications with these localities. Yukichi Obata, the present Japanese minister to China, in a recent interview said to the writer: "Japan cannot view with equanimity the encroachments of any foreign Power that will menace her vital interests in this territory." The Japanese is not enough of an idealist or is sufficiently practical not to put his neck in a noose of which his friendly enemies hold the other end.

Politically the country is in turmoil. Only a year ago Japan was in the throes of a nation-wide agitation for adult suffrage that threatened to carry the country to the brink of revolution. The intense desire of the people for political power is more than a hankering after representative government; it springs from the hope that the mighty ballot may relieve the economic distress from which they suffer. Momentarily the agitation has subsided, but the fire is

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still smoldering and waits for the first puff of wind to fan it into blazing fury. Significant and ominous is the large and rapidly increasing number of political agitators and avowed revolutionists who seem to thrive in the midst of drastic persecution. The Japanese ruling class feels the political situation becoming entirely too hot for it, and like the ruling class in every other imperialistic nation it desires to divert the attention of the masses from their domestic ills by stirring their frenzy and passions against imaginary foreign foes.

With these facts in mind we shall be able to understand more clearly the motivations that have directed Japan's policies for years past and which may bring her to the threshold of war with the United States. The American reader must sharply differentiate between the Japanese people and the Japanese ruling class. He must realize that in spite of her material development since the Shogunate, Japan is politically still a century behind the times. By no stretch of the imagination can she be described as a democracy. Though she has all the trappings of constitutional government, she is really ruled by forces that seldom come to the front. Probably the dominant of these hidden powers is the military clique. Heirs of the Samurai nobility which ruled Japan in feudal style up to a half century ago, the militarists still retain and feed on the glorious traditions of a bygone age, reinforced by the philosophy and institutions of the German Junker. Swashbuckling, swaggering snobs, they are animated by a profound contempt for civilian government. Their motto is "Dai Nippon über Alles"; their patriotic chauvinism and arrogance know no bounds. Their policy is indiscriminate conquest and aggrandizement, and though they are only indirectly interested in the ambitions of the Japanese industrialists they countenance them in so far as they offer opportunities for action and military glory. These sword-rattlers want to bring China under the banner of the Rising Sun and are eager to seize a slice of Siberia purely for the power and prestige in the enterprise.

The military clans in Japan today represent a super-government. They are above the law. Neither the War Ministry nor the Naval Administration is accountable to the Diet or even to the Cabinet for any activities on their part, no matter how dangerous to the peace of the country. "Military secret vital to the defense of the country" is the answer given to any member of the Diet bold enough to interpellate. The Diet cannot compel the military clique to come to terms by withholding necessary appropriations, for the wise men who framed the Mikado's constitution inserted a proviso that if the Diet refuses a vote of funds, or is dissolved for any reason, the budget passed by the preceding session automatically renews itself.

Closely allied with the military clans is the Big Business plutocracy which relies for the realization of its vast schemes on the sword. It, too, is intent on the conquest of China by force of arms, by tactful diplomacy, or by economic penetration. It was this group that was responsible for the Twenty-one Demands presented to Peking in 1915—the most brazen and daring attempt in modern times to extinguish China as a sovereign state. Coveting a Japanese protectorate in Eastern Siberia, this element has heartily supported the wild exploits of the Japanese army in that territory.

Then there is the great class of patriotic, yet peace-loving lesser business men who thrill at the thought of controlling China and Siberia—virgin fields chuck full of food, raw supplies and markets, ready for the hoe of intense Japanese exploitation. They crave these prizes no less fervently than the other groups, but would like to secure them by diplomacy, economic pressure, and by peaceful understanding. They resist the schemes of the military clique because they wish to play safe and because a disastrous military adventure may overwhelm their hard-won achievements. They feel keenly that the military caste is largely responsible for the foreign prejudice against the nation. In reality, most of them are of a liberal turn of mind and favor progress along sound democratic lines.

If we carefully survey the present outstanding differences between the United States and Japan we can classify them as follows:

1. The California question;
2. The principle of race equality;
3. America's resistance to Japanese aggression in China;
4. America's interference with Japan's Siberian policy;
5. America's overt and covert sympathy with and assistance accorded to the anti-Japanese movement in China and the Nationalist movement in Korea.

Though the first and second "causes" are not unknown to the general public, scarcely any one realizes that America's policy in the Orient has aroused the bitterest resentment in powerful Japanese quarters. America has ignored Japan's pretentions to a Monroe Doctrineship over China, in spite of the fact that Japan has steered a diplomatic course to impress the world that her interests in the country were predominant. The outbreak of the war gave Japan a rare opportunity to strengthen her position on the Asiatic continent. With the tacit or secret acquiescence of the leading Allied Powers, Tokio presented the infamous Twenty-one Demands to China. The Japanese militarists have not yet forgotten America's informal remonstrances while the negotiations were under way, nor the bombshell she threw into their camp by an official statement that she would not recognize any treaty infringing her own rights or China's sovereignty.

In Siberia, too, American diplomacy has been constantly checking and thwarting Japan's ambitions. The State Department's recent protest against Japan's officially announced intention of occupying Sakhalin and Eastern Siberia has been a bitter pill for the War Office to swallow. It is not so much America's interference in the past, but rather Japan's realization that America is likely to pursue a vigorous, unswerving policy vis-à-vis China and Siberia, a policy antagonistic to Japanese aggrandizement, which maddens the Nipponese imperialists.

Just recently Japan has had a convincing demonstration of American sentiment on Far Eastern affairs. When the Shantung decision of the Peace Conference was announced, sympathy for China in her struggle against Japanese domination became an important factor in the American political struggle against the League and the Treaty. The knowledge of Japan's bloody excesses in smothering Korea's pitiful cry for freedom did not strengthen Japan's cause. In the Senate, China's rights were championed and the Shantung reservation to the treaty was passed. Throughout China and Korea American newspapers, missionaries, social workers, and business men undeniably sympathized with the anti-Japanese movement and even encouraged it.

As has been pointed out, Japan's Realpolitik centers on the continent of Asia. She is not primarily interested in

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the colonization of California, or in the maintenance of the rights of her citizens already established there. Japan will never come to blows with America on the California issue, no matter how onerous and taxing the provocation to her "national honor." But the shrewd and wily diplomats at Tokio have often blessed their lucky stars that there is a California question. Japan knows that a war for her rights in California would be suicidal, barren of fruit, and therefore thoroughly impractical. But that does not lessen the availability of California as a smoke-screen behind which to hide more important but less popular schemes.

The same thing may be said of the race-equality issue. It is a most valuable talking-point, behind which an infinite number of platitudes and a great deal of moral pressure can be mustered, but once realized it would become for the Japanese a Pyrrhic victory. Should Japan by some chance stroke of fate win this point no one in the world would be more surprised and disappointed than the suave, posing Japanese statesmen who are fervently battling for this principle at the diplomatic bargain counter and who at heart have no desire to see their people assimilated by any other nation. When Japan demanded the race-equality plank in the League of Nations covenant, everybody in the Far East knew that Japan had deliberately sacrificed this issue in order to force the Peace Conference's approval of the Shantung theft.

Japan's big business and militarist combination which for obvious reasons never appears in the forefront in tense diplomatic negotiations stands ready to sacrifice and concede every point in these two seemingly vital issues if it can secure its ambitious schemes embraced in the third and fourth points and America's neutrality on the fifth question. And there is in Japan a powerful element ready to wage war for these ends if America does not yield. But to popularize the struggle and provide a moral background for their cause, the Japanese ruling classes will bring about a situation where their own people will seemingly compel them to declare war. The California and race-equality issues will be flaunted before the masses, incident upon incident will be piled up, the press will work itself into a frenzy, and the passions and fury of the people will be goaded to the point from which there can be no retreat. Needless to say America's jingoes will do their part.

It is Japan's demand for the unhindered exploitation of China and Eastern Siberia for which the battle for the supremacy of the Pacific will ultimately be fought. America's policy in the Orient, to the extent that we have had a consistent policy anywhere, has traditionally favored the Open Door. It has been our aim to preserve China as a poaching ground for free exploitation by all nations on equal terms. China in the American school of diplomacy is to be maintained as an open mart for the traders of the world without let or hindrance from any Power which has been there first and staked out "squatter claims" or "spheres of influence." Japan, in spite of her lip-service to the Open Door and her disavowal of any designs on China's territorial integrity or sovereignty, has for the last quarter of a century pursued a very definite and calculated policy that was bound eventually to bring China under her exclusive economic and political domination. Her ambition is to secure her sources of supply in China not by the courtesy and sufferance of the other Powers, but by the more tangible rights of ownership and control. Equally does Japan desire China as a dumping ground for her own industrial output; other nations may bring their surplus here, but only after she has disposed of her own accumulated stores.

The point may be raised that it seems hardly likely that Japan should choose the present moment for her passage at arms with the United States. America today practically controls the "sinews of war"—financial power. She has just emerged triumphant and proud from her decisive share in the European War. Her navy is at its highest pitch of strength and efficiency and her borders contain four million men trained in arms. Japan's present haughty course can be explained on only one ground—the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was to expire in 1921 but which has been temporarily extended. Critical observers of Far Eastern affairs profess to find in the continuation of this alliance the clue for the present unwarrantably truculent attitude of Japan, for it seems almost suicidal for Japan to throw down the gage of battle to a nation that is preponderantly more powerful than herself, unless she is assured of foreign encouragement and possible assistance.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was originally consummated in 1902 and was revised into an offensive and defensive pact after the Russo-Japanese War. Its *raison d'être* was an open secret to the diplomatic chancelleries of Europe. Aimed at Czarist Russia which at that time was very active in Central Asia and which was a constant dread peril to the security of England's Indian empire, it possessed the virtue of a two-edged sword by restraining Russia from interfering with Japan's expansionist dream on the mainland of Asia. Britain also desired naval protection for her Eastern possessions against Germany's threatening armada.

With the defeat of Germany and the disintegration of Russia, Britain's need for the alliance has certainly disappeared. Not so Japan's. She wants the alliance as a resource and security against America. There is no doubt in the minds of Far Eastern publicists that Great Britain was bludgeoned into a continuation of the alliance by Japan's potential power to undermine British security in India. To add point to the force of her argument Japan picked on this most sensitive chord of British harmony by pointing to a weapon which she has developed and at which she has become very adept—propaganda.

Japan certainly does not expect England to join her in the event of war with America. Indeed, England has recently specifically stated that the United States was not aimed at in the treaty. But Japan figures on a benevolent neutrality and through the alliance feels she commands it.

This much is certain. Should war come, it will be a commercial war, a war of two rival capitalistic interests, and the stake will be the privilege of exploiting the world's prize undeveloped fields. And while tourists dote on cherry blossoms and geisha maidens, while business men with their tongues in their cheeks pledge each other enduring friendships, while "unofficial" missions desert these arid regions for oases where the cup may yet be filled to overflowing, and while "frank and open" deliberations are being held behind closed doors, hidden master hands calculatingly move their chessmen across the world's checkerboard, maneuvering for time and position, awaiting the flare that is to signal the attack. It will be only through a truly full, frank, and open discussion of these matters, the abolition of secret diplomatic notes, maneuvers, agreements that the imminent peril of another hideous world clash can be averted. And this presupposes a fundamental change in the hearts, minds, and methods of the dominant "statesmen" in both Japan and America.

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For an Immigration Policy

By SIDNEY L. GULICK

THE House of Representatives has passed the Johnson bill. It suspends immigration for one year and is confessedly an emergency measure. It contemplates the preparation in the near future of another measure that should embody a permanent policy. The present emergency has been plainly in view for a couple of years. It should have been provided for before this. Last January a one-year emergency measure was adopted extending till March 4, 1921, the passport visé system enacted as a war measure. Are we to continue passing emergency-immigration legislation? Or shall we provide a policy suitable for permanent application?

The National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation has been at work on a permanent policy for several years. Its proposals have been gradually taking shape. Hundreds of thoughtful men have indorsed its principles. Two slightly differing bills have been introduced into Congress embodying its general proposals, that by Representative Welty (H. R. 14196) introduced May 22, 1920, and that by Senator Sterling (S. 4594) introduced December 10, 1920.

In the formulation of its general principles and concrete proposals the National Committee has had in mind a number of objectives. Among these may be mentioned the conviction that the permanent success of our democracy depends closely on the admittance of only so many and such aliens as will in due time become truly Americanized. We must, moreover, admit even them only in proportion to our capacity to employ them without endangering American standards of living and labor. If we admit aliens faster than they can, in a reasonable length of time, learn to speak English and accept the general principles of fair and free discussion, honest voting, and loyal acceptance of majority decisions, we endanger our democracy. And if we admit them more rapidly than our economic situation justifies, we cannot give either them or our own industrial workers economic justice. This, too, will be highly dangerous.

The fundamental principles back of the proposals of the National Committee, therefore, are to admit annually—

1. Only so many as we can assimilate and Americanize, and also

2. Only so many as we can steadily and wholesomely employ without lowering American standards of labor and living.

Another fundamental principle of the National Committee is that in the regulation of immigration fair and friendly and equal treatment must be granted to every people. Aliens are not to be excluded from America from reasons of prejudice, nor on mere a priori grounds. If complete exclusion of any given people is required such exclusion should be based on definite experience. The slowness or impossibility of assimilation, tendencies to excessive congestion, and economic difficulties are adequate grounds on which to base a policy of rigid limitation or even of complete exclusion.

Distinction should be made between the regulation of immigration and the treatment of immigrants already in America. In regard to these latter every effort should be made to help them learn English, to understand our ways, and to enter wholesomely and happily into our political life. There should be no race differential legislation, discriminating between aliens here among us. All should be given equal treatment—"equal protection of the laws." Opportunity for citizenship should be given to every alien who qualifies, and every alien who plans to stay here permanently with his family should be urged to qualify and to become an American citizen.

The Welty and Sterling bills seek to embody these principles in concrete form and technical language. Their principal features may be briefly described as follows:

1. The creation of a federal immigration board with defined duties, responsibilities, and powers.

2. The gathering of certain facts by the board in regard to economic conditions in each State of the Union and in regard to the assimilation of aliens of the different peoples among us.

3. The determination yearly by the board of the number of immigrants who may be admitted, regard being had to the facts secured and to the general policy defined above.

4. The preparation of a federal text-book on American citizenship to serve as the universal standard for naturalization. All aliens applying for citizenship must be able to read and to pass an examination on this text-book.

5. Amendment of the present naturalization law, opening the door to citizenship to every one who duly qualifies.

6. The repeal of all special laws dealing with Chinese, many of which are in conflict with our treaties with China.

7. The requirement from all aliens entering America of a "pledge of obedience to the laws of the United States."

This policy is suited alike to hard times and to prosperous times. It makes unnecessary all emergency legislation. The board can lower or even stop immigration altogether if and when the economic situation requires it. And when prosperity returns it can open the doors in proportion to our renewed capacity to take in more aliens. The plan is flexible and scientific. It limits the power of the board to a range of ten per cent in its decisions.

The board may exclude all immigration and it may admit up to ten per cent for any given people, of those of that people who have become American citizens including their American-born children. The Sterling bill also provides that the total immigration in any single year may not exceed three-fourths of one per cent of the total population of the United States, nor may the immigration of any single people exceed one-fifth of one per cent of the entire population.

The necessary brevity of this paper prevents further statement of other important features and advantages of the proposed legislation. But the writer would suggest that the reader send for copies of the Sterling bill (S. 4594) and give it careful examination. If on the whole it meets with approval, a suitable letter of indorsement sent to members of the Senate and House would help to secure its enactment into law.

The time surely has come for the adoption of a policy for the scientific regulation of all immigration, free from race discrimination, but admitting only so many of each people annually as our developing experience shows we can truly incorporate into our body politic and into our economic life. An immigration policy of this general character is essential to the permanence and success of our American democracy.

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Our Armament Race with Japan

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

THE Governments of the United States and Japan are both suffering from an acute attack of navalitis. Both sufferers greatly need a mild injection of common-sense. During the past fiscal year we added to our navy one battleship, 96 destroyers, 18 submarines, and 109 other vessels; and we had under construction on October 1, 11 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, and 123 other ships, practically all fighting craft. Meanwhile, Secretary Daniels and a train of admirals go before Congress and talk profoundly about "rounding out the navy," whatever that may mean, winding up with the genial recommendation that as soon as the capital ships now under way are launched we enter upon a new three-year program of 88 additional vessels, including 3 battleships and a battle cruiser.

What is the excuse offered for this amiable lunacy? Getting down from vague talk about "the present state of the world," "protecting our commerce," having "incomparably the most adequate navy in the world," and other meaningless phrases, we come to the brute fact that, unless we are crazy, we are building against a potential enemy. At the moment, despite anti-British propaganda, it can scarcely be Great Britain; for the one-time mistress of the seas has suspended all construction of capital ships until the Admiralty can determine whether the dreadnaught is of any further use, until the Treasury can find money to build ships, and until the Foreign Office can discover whether the Government of the United States is going utterly daft. Lord Rothermere points out that no nation will henceforth enjoy naval supremacy and that Great Britain cannot afford to spend any money on naval construction at present. It is not Great Britain against whom we are building, but Japan.

In that distant island empire our own folly is being matched. The Japanese people are already taxed almost beyond endurance. Yet the naval program finally authorized (after years of discussion) in 1919 requires them to provide the money to build during the next eight years 8 battleships and 8 cruisers, along with 75 destroyers, submarines, and other fighting craft. Work already appropriated for is to cost 584,000,000 yen (about $292,000,000), and when this first part of the program is completed in 1923 it is expected at once to go forward with the remainder of the plan, though the funds are not yet appropriated. Japanese financial resources are strained to the breaking-point, yet the mad race goes merrily forward. According to the Japan Year Book, there is reason to believe that the authorities have in mind a still more ambitious project. No intelligent man will doubt it; naval authorities always have more ambitious projects in mind. Fortunately they are not always realized.

And why must Japan build? Against us, of course. Candid Americans must admit, certainly, that the Japanese Government has more shadow of justification for its fear of us than our Government for its fear of the Japanese. Recalling Hawaii, Guam, Yap, Samoa, and the Philippines (now with their two naval stations), not to speak of Mr. Washington Vanderlip's concession in Kamchatka, and remembering the loudly avowed plans of our Navy Department for expansion in the Pacific, it is not wholly strange that public opinion in Japan is "jumpy" concerning the future designs of our diplomats and financiers. Yet no one in this country, outside a few blatherskite editors and politicians, really wants to attack the Japanese, despite the tons of print paper annually misused in misinforming us about that interesting people. The sins of the Japanese Government in Korea and Manchuria and China are of a piece with the excesses of imperialism everywhere and always, but they do not threaten us with attack or even with serious injury. Moreover, there is no possibility that we can ever make the Japanese Government repent of those sins by building warships, or even by using them. The wild naval scramble of today on both sides of the Pacific is simply dominated by the psychology of fear, not of reason.

Its consequences, however, will be none the less inevitable and appalling on that account. We have sunk $735,000,000 in new naval construction since 1916, to say nothing of special building during the war, while our naval appropriations for the same years have totaled $5,325,000,000. Expecting 1922 to be a year of peace, Secretary Daniels thinks he can worry along on $696,000,000—a sum equal to our entire naval appropriations from 1900 to 1907, and considerably more than we spent in building warships from 1900 until we entered the war. Possibly we can stand such a pace, but we shall certainly drive our rivals into bankruptcy and bolshevism, unless war intervenes as the culmination of the mad delirium.

And, meanwhile, what of the trade whose maintenance is alleged on both sides as a necessary reason for the wild armament race? Curiously enough, more than a third of all our Asiatic imports come from Japan, and she takes materially more than half of our exports to the greatest of continents. Our Japanese imports rose from $66,000,000 in 1910 to $527,000,000 in 1920, and exports from $22,000,000 to $453,000,000 (more than twenty-fold). Just how we are to cultivate our best Asiatic customer by building battleships and ultimately making war on her is hard to see. But we are told that Japan is stealing our Chinese trade. Therefore, by some mysterious logic, we must outstrip her yet further in warship construction. Yet while Japan was stealing our Chinese trade, our Chinese imports stubbornly rose from $30,000,000 in 1910 to $227,000,000 in 1920, and our exports from $16,000,000 to $119,000,000. It is all very odd. Somehow even the total figures of our Asiatic trade, though running well over two billions in 1920, make the two-thirds of a billion asked next year by the Navy look like expensive insurance, especially as it is apparent that a war would automatically cut off nearly half that trade.

The common-sense of the situation is plain enough. So long as both Governments go on building battleships, we may have polite speeches and international deputations *ad nauseam*, but the underlying process of developing suspicion and fear will go right on—and the more fear the more navy. Neither people, it is plain enough, has any reasonable ground for building a navy against the other, except a desire to put battleships behind its foreign investors and traders. If either people wants to do that, knowing the cost and the consequences, such is its privilege. But neither people need let itself be fooled with specious pleas of national defense, protection of commerce, and like bosh that covers the real meaning of the policy. If the peoples really want national safety and commerce and peace they have got to pierce through the veil of solemn humbug that enshrouds this suicidal navy building and tell their governors, in words that cannot be mistaken, to disarm. Until that day comes, it is vain to talk of peace. Has not the day arrived?

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Wanted: More Tolerance and Understanding

By WARREN RYDER

THAT politics was a potent factor in creating the anti-Japanese agitation in California seems to find complete proof in a statement issued by Congressman Isaac Siegel, a member of the Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization which concluded an investigation of the Japanese situation on the Pacific Coast, appearing in the *Christian Science Monitor* in its issue of August 12, 1920. In that statement Congressman Siegel, speaking of the Japanese situation as he found it in California, says: "The very fact that they" [the Japanese] "cannot obtain American citizenship is what is making them the 'football' among many politicians in that State"; and "it is to be regretted that a United States Senator is seeking reelection mainly upon that issue." Mr. Siegel's statement would appear to cover this phase of the subject very thoroughly.

Another factor in creating the anti-Japanese sentiment, and in keeping it alive and growing after its creation, is race prejudice—something which, while sometimes dormant, is always existent in California, and which has been fanned into an intense flame by an agitation that has been continuous and most active for some time past. True, the leading opponents of the Japanese, in testifying before the Congressional Committee, usually prefaced their remarks by an assertion that they held no race prejudice, but their subsequent statements convicted them of being actuated, unconsciously if not consciously, by race prejudice and nothing else. What other reason can be ascribed as the actuating motive of a man or woman who testifies that the Japanese are loyal, are industrious, are sober, are frugal and thrifty, are cleanly and orderly, are law-abiding and peaceful, and still opposes them? And yet there was not one witness appearing before the Congressional Committee who did not declare or admit that these traits—commonly called virtues—were characteristic of the Japanese. Nor did a single witness, no matter what his arguments and final deductions were, accuse the Japanese of being bomb-throwers, disturbers of the peace, law-breakers, drunkards, or drones. Why, then, the bitter opposition? Why the condemnation of this people for traits the existence of which in others arouses nothing but commendation and praise? Must it not be because they are Japanese? What other answer is consistent or reasonable? Furthermore, although the Committee's hearings were widely advertised and its invitation to all persons interested to appear and testify given wide publicity, not a single witness in the whole State appeared to assert that a Japanese had deprived him of his means of livelihood. Not a single artisan or mechanic or common laborer, if you please, came to say that a Japanese had taken his position or had forced him out of work; and to support the charge, made day in and day out in California and heard all over the land, that the "whites" were "being driven from the land," not a single farmer or farm-laborer or former farmer or former farm-laborer appeared to testify that he had been driven from the land by a Japanese. Nor did any witness testify to knowing—*of his own knowledge*—of a single person who had been driven from the land, deprived of his job, or separated from his source of livelihood by a Japanese.

The main trouble is, it seems to me, that those who are opposing the Japanese have been entirely too willing to make broad, general statements upon the matter without taking the trouble to prove them. Take, for instance, the statistics submitted to the Congressional Committee relative to population increase and birth-rate of the Japanese in California, statistics that have been given the widest publicity as tending to show the "menace" of the Japanese. What do those figures reveal? They reveal the fact that in ten years the Japanese population of California has increased some forty thousand, a purely normal growth in view of attending circumstances, and that the birth-rate is probably as great as that of the first generation of all immigrants, no matter of what race, who have come to America. Regarding the Japanese birth-rate, the report prepared by the California State Board of Control ("California and the Oriental") has these significant things to say: "While the Japanese birth-rate is far in excess of that of all other nationalities in this State, this is not infrequently true of a new people immigrating into a new land. Also among the Japanese, which is a new race here, most of the adults are comparatively young and of the family-raising ages, while among the whites, a race long resident in California, there is necessarily the usual proportion of elderly persons."

It might also be stated, and very properly in this connection, that no figures appear in the Board's report showing the birth-rate of the "whites" by *nationalities*, i. e., of Italian, French, Portuguese, Greek, German, Austrian, Swedish, English, etc., but that all "white" births have been put under the one head, although it is common knowledge that the birth-rate of certain of the nationalities named is much higher than that of others. In this connection observation leads one to say that the birth-rate among the first generation of immigration Italians in San Francisco will doubtless be found to be as great as that of the Japanese anywhere in California or America. This statement is not intended to criticize the Italian race, or to make a comparison of the Italian and Japanese races in other respects, but solely to show that certain things are alarming to certain men in California *only* when those things characterize the Japanese.

Regarding the acreage of land operated by the Japanese in California, it is negligible when compared to the total in the State; and as the State has already enacted a law denying to the Japanese the right to purchase land, and as there is no law *compelling* anyone to lease his land to them, the land question presents no real difficulty.

Thus, to any man who is impartial and who will take the time to ascertain the real facts, the conviction must come that the so-called "Japanese menace" is wholly imaginary, and that in reality the Japanese are being condemned not for any vices but for their virtues. There is a menace, however, but it comes not from the Japanese. There is a menace to tolerance, to truth, to justice and righteousness and honor and international comity that comes from this widespread and, it would seem deliberate, excitement to race prejudice. That, and not the Japanese, is the *real* menace.

In conclusion let it be said that this is not an attempt to prove the Japanese to be paragons of virtue or without faults. Nothing of the kind. Nor, indeed, is it a plea to "let down the bars"; but it is an attempt to point out what are considered injustices to the Japanese and an argument against permitting race prejudice to enter into or influence the arbitrament of the Japanese question.

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What Japan Wants

By ADACHI KINNOSUKE

SAID Confucius: *Ishoku tatte reisetsu wo shiru.* By which he meant that enough food for the stomach and enough raiment for the body are not only the beginning of wisdom, but also of culture, politeness, and of honor. This was said some four hundred years before the days of Caesar: it has been tested down through the ages and never has been found wanting. In the savage struggle for existence and ascendancy, in the interplay of a million varied and various human interests called civilization, the ancient saying is proving truer and truer every day. Not only with individuals but with nations—nations like Japan, which do not happen to be of the favored children of Dame Nature.

For the premier problem of Japan of this year of grace 1921 is quite as elementary and as elemental as all that: Japan wants, first of all, enough food for her empty stomachs—the empty stomachs which are increasing at the rate of 700,000 a year. If our American friends would know the breadth and depth of this fundamental problem of ours, let them look the following facts in the face: The total area of Japan proper is 148,756 square miles. There are 55,960,000 souls on this area today according to the figures of the census just completed, nearly 400 people to a square mile. The single State of California has 155,652 square miles and her population in 1920 was put at 3,426,536, about 22 to a square mile.

And half or even one-tenth of the story is not told in the above comparison. For the arable area of Nippon proper is about 15 per cent of its total area, while nearly 29,000,000 acres or 43,750 square miles of the total area of California —nearly 30 per cent of it, in other words—were classed as farm acreage in the 1910 census. Japan is a string of narrow islands of volcanic origin which, if not quite as sterile as Attica or as stony as some of the abandoned New England farms, are broken up everywhere with rocky mountains. All of which accounts for the small percentage of the productive area of the country. Now the eight million gods of our honored ancestors may be able to tell the people in Japan to roam up and down the rocky shores and be good and content and sweet tempered and invite their empty stomachs forth to feast on the superlative beauty of her natural scenes and on the color and poetry of her far-famed cherry flowers. But certainly not the people of California with one square mile to every 22 of her people—and that, too, in one of the most favored fields in creation; certainly not our Australian friends with their 1.5 humans to every square mile of as promising a soil as any; nor the Canadians who command one whole square mile to every 2 of her population. In 1918, Japan imported 89,755,678 yen's worth of rice from British India, French Indo-China, and other countries. This fact is eloquent to anyone familiar with the common people of Japan and their taste. They look upon foreign rice with altogether unreasonable prejudice, so much so that the home department of our Government has had to send hundreds of its own officials to lecture all over the country and show the people how to prepare foreign rice and teach them how good it is.

Some anti-Japanese propagandists of China and America try to argue these facts out of existence. But there they stand, big as life and stubborn as truth. What can Japan do? What is to be her answer to the ever-increasing number of empty stomachs among her people? A more intensive cultivation of her soil? Any observer who investigates at first hand on the spot will have no trouble at all to see that he or any other mortal cannot even conceive of a greater degree of intensive cultivation than is being carried on in Japan. Mountain sides are terraced like a garden and every inch is utilized. "It is a cultivation where every grain of wheat is individually planted in a row and tended like an onion bed, harvested with sickles by hand, the most intensive cultivation imaginable," are the words of Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip who went there recently and saw for himself.

Emigration then? The attitude of our friends in California on the question of Japanese immigration is too well advertised to need comment. There to the south of us is the great island continent of Australia. It must be a great and glorious feeling for Australians, like Mr. Hughes, to sit to a feast of superabundance, safe within their high and forbidding stone wall of exclusion, utterly oblivious of the starving millions whose corpses garnish the foot of the stone wall outside, singing the hymns of white Australia to drown any cry of distress that might float over the fence. It has been said that some millionaires enjoy the warmth of their palatial residences in spite of and—sometimes because of—the unfortunates freezing to death outside.

What does Japan want? Japan wants a certain portion of her people to emigrate and settle on the waste lands of Australia and the Americas and become self-supporting. Nothing can solve the food problem of Japan more quickly and more effectively. The farmers of Japan know they can cultivate the land quite as well as the farmers in any other country. All they ask is to be given a piece of land and an opportunity to work it. They are industrious, sober, frugal, and law abiding. They still count these qualities among the virtues, although they were denounced in California as something akin to crimes. Anyway, they cling to the idea that they are good farmers—good enough to be entitled to a chance. And that is precisely what the Japanese people want. But, of course, there are a few things to be considered in connection with this question of emigration. And we do consider them in a rather humble frame of mind.

Much has been said of the arrogant and dictatorial attitude of the Japanese Government and its diplomats, more especially its militarists, on the question of emigration. The perpetual wonder to the people of Japan themselves is just where and how such fanciful fiction could have been conceived. Has their Government ever challenged the stupendous claim of the Australians for a "white Australia"? Have any of her diplomatists or any of her militarists breathed so much as a word against the injustice of such a claim? History is entirely innocent of any such incident. That is not all—in fact far from it. After the door had been closed and locked to the 3,000,000 square miles by something like 5,000,000 Australians who are there and by Canada and by the United States, our people turned to perhaps the only places left—to South America and Mexico across the Pacific and to Manchuria and Siberia. Then something happened which is aptly described by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip: "But we have got our hands raised; we sit back here occupying a highly moral attitude and we do nothing. We put no money into the situation, no force of troops. We put nothing into it but criticism and we say to Japan our hand is up. You must not go into China or Siberia. Keep your hands off the continent of Asia."

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And what has the Japanese Government to say of all this? It has just explained and is still explaining to the United States innumerable things and conditions as though it were a prisoner at the bar. It seems to be even afraid of offending the delicate sensibilities of those California politicians who have such splendid voices to shout their own contentions, but no ears to listen to what the Japanese have to say. With a perfectly legal treaty entitling our people to enter the United States, as freely as any other people, we offered the United States the well-known Gentleman's Agreement. More, as the *Yorozu* of Tokio declares: "We have the Gentleman's Agreement in force and have furthermore adopted a policy of restricting emigration to Mexico solely to please America." It should be stated that the people of Japan are neither opposed to nor severely critical of the conciliatory attitude of their Government toward the United States. In the days when the California question was at fever heat, the *Chugai* of Tokio urged the people of Japan "to act deliberately by relying principally on the moral instinct of the Americans and on their professed faith in justice and humanity."

So far as America is concerned, all we ask is that she deal with our people fairly. This is your country. We do not say as some students of history have said that you have robbed the American Indian of all this fair and fruitful land; that it is no more yours than it is any one's else who can claim it in the name of civilization and progress. We are free to admit that the American Indian had never and could perhaps never have made the great country blossom as the State of California is blossoming today, and that for the good of humanity at large and in the name of civilization your ancestors had a perfect right to come and occupy it. And since this is your country, we shall be the last people on earth to force ourselves on you. Our people do not care to come to this country unless they are wanted, all the anti-American vaporings of Tokio labor agitators and politicians to the contrary notwithstanding. Emigration as far as the United States is concerned is therefore no longer a live issue with the people and Government of Japan. It is dead. Its ghost is conjured up only by the anti-Japanese propagandists in America and the third-rate politicians of California. We ask of the United States only this: that she keep her treaty faith with our people that they do not turn into a "scrap of paper" the historic document signed on 21st of February, 1911, by Knox and Uchida, who happens to be the present Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Japan, which reads:

> The subjects or citizens of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other . . . to lease land for residential and commercial purposes . . . upon the same terms as native subjects or citizens. . . . The subjects or citizens of each of the High Contracting Parties shall receive in the territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to native subjects or citizens on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the native citizens and subjects.

No language could be clearer concerning the property rights of the Japanese in the United States, and I presume that the State of California is still a part of the United States. Now, the lands which the Japanese have purchased in California legally in the past can never be argued away, can never be painted or powdered into anything else but the property of the Japanese residents in California, and as such should be entitled to the same lawful protection enjoyed by all the native citizens of California.

We ask also that the United States grant to those Japanese now residing there and who desire to become citizens the right of citizenship on precisely the same basis as any other foreigner. In some sections of California Americans ostracize the Japanese, discriminate against them, deny them citizenship; they refuse them all opportunities to become Americanized. Then they denounce the Japanese for not becoming citizens of the United States and as being incapable of assimilation. As a matter of historic fact, no other race can equal the Japanese in their adaptability. The Tokio *Jiji* is right when it says that "Japan in the last fifty years has been adapting herself to Occidental civilization . . . hers is no doubt a living instance of the harmonization of the two civilizations."

Another thing: Whenever America is tempted to dictate Japan's policy in China we would beg her to try to do a very difficult thing, namely, to put herself in the place of Japan. In other words, we would beg her to consider just how she would feel and act and react if Japan were to take it into her head to dictate the Mexican policy of the United States. And even if only the responsible heads of the State Department at Washington would do this difficult thing for us, the *Yorozu* would have no occasion for making such a comment at this: "Americans in China seize every opportunity to misrepresent Japan and to set the world against Japan in favor of China. . . . In short, America which sent a warship to take part in the ceremony of unveiling the Perry monument at Kurihama years ago has become a thing of the past. Why? Because American economic imperialism has found in Japan a stumbling block to its conquest of the Far East."

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Facts and Fancies on the Coast

CALIFORNIA passed on November 2 the initiative land law by a large majority (668,432 to 222,086). But it really settles nothing. In fact it only aggravates the situation. Governor Stephens said in his letter of June 19, 1920, to Secretary of State Colby that the law even if passed would avail nothing and that the State by itself alone cannot solve the question. Chester Rowell affirmed (September 15, 1920) that the new law would "have little effect. Leases will be changed into contracts. . . . Nothing will have happened except the impressive declaration of the people of California that they do not want the Japanese."

This, however, is a superficial judgment. The enactment of that law has already profoundly affected American-Japanese relations. International tension has been markedly increased. Another milestone has been passed by the two nations on the road leading toward a fateful precipice. Unless we can find a fork in the road along which we are traveling, tragedy is in sight. The enactment of that law shows that the people of California can be led by demagogues; and that personal and political interests have little regard for facts and truth and international interests.

The majority of the people of California have been led to believe that a serious menace faces the State because of the presence of the Japanese now there; that Japan has been flagrantly violating the Gentlemen's Agreement; that large immigration has been steadily flowing into California; and that the Japanese birth-rate threatens to overwhelm the white population in the near future. These popular beliefs are quite without foundation. The beliefs are nevertheless a fact, and a fact of ominous significance. Much psychological dynamite has been manufactured. The people, for lack of knowledge, and correct information, cannot exercise sound judgment on local, national, and international issues of the greatest importance in which Japanese are concerned. What then are the facts?

1. The Gentleman's Agreement stopped Japanese male labor immigration in 1908. Immigration fell from 30,226 in 1907 to 3,111 in 1909. Since it got into working order the total increase of Japanese population in continental United States by excess of arrivals over departures (July 1, 1908, to June 30, 1920) has been 12,174. Of this sum 64.1 per cent has settled in California, namely 7,803. This figure consists almost wholly of women and children who have come to join their husbands and parents.

Agitators who seek to prove that Japan has been violating the Agreement give statistics of arrivals only. They fail to say that the vast majority of those admitted (92,606) have already left America (80,432); that their figures include the Hawaiian Islands, and also large numbers of merchants and clerks necessitated by the great increase in American-Japanese commerce, which now exceeds $400,000,000 a year. Their figures also include all Japanese going to and from Europe through the United States, being counted twice on each trip. They fail to say that nearly one-half of the figures they give deal with Japanese who have been in America before and as "former residents" (38,030) are returning after a short visit to Japan. They imply that all arrivals are new "immigrants." The statistics and arguments of the agitators are wholly misleading.

2. Japanese population in California is insignificant compared with the white population. The whole population of the State according to the United States census of 1920 is 3,426,861, while the Japanese population is 70,196 or 2 per cent. During the past decade the population of the State increased by 1,049,312, while the Japanese population increased by 28,838. In 1910 the Japanese population was 1.7 per cent of the whole population. In ten years, therefore, it has increased on the whole population by three-tenths of one per cent. Under free immigration the Japanese population increased from 10,151 in 1900 to 41,358 in 1910, or 307.4 per cent, while its increase during the next decade under the Gentleman's Agreement from 41,358 to 70,196 was 69.7 per cent. This increase was due partly to arrivals of wives and children and partly to births in California. The male population actually decreased.

3. The birth-rate ascribed to Japanese has been wildly unscientific. "Five times that of the whites," "a baby every year," "they breed like rabbits"—are the hysterical current assertions. In considering this question one should remember that California is the Mecca of the rich, the old, and the infirm from the whole United States. Its birth-rate is, therefore, abnormally low. Japanese women in California, on the other hand (some 15,000), are in their prime—from twenty to forty years of age. Of course their comparative birth-rate is high. But even so it is not what agitators say.

The most accurate available statistics of Japanese births are given in the recent report of the California State Board of Control. The records of 524 "picture brides" who landed during 1918 are given in detail. Those who became mothers within one year after landing numbered 120 or 22.9 per cent. Within two years and two months for those longest married and one year and two months for those married for the shortest period, the number who became mothers was 182 or 34.8 per cent. Would corresponding figures for white families be materially different?

4. The legislative program of the Japanese Exclusion League of California, even if adopted in its entirety, would not solve the Japanese question. It would only aggravate the situation. The new land law even before its enactment, as already stated, was not expected to avail anything. It does not prevent immigration; it will not overcome the present congestion of Japanese in certain sections; it will not tend to Americanize them; it will not lower the Japanese birth-rate. Congressional legislation completely forbidding Japanese immigration will make no material change in the amount of immigration, for there has been no new male labor immigration for twelve years and Japan has already stopped the "picture-bride" movement. Denial of American citizenship to American-born children of Japanese parentage will not prevent them from being born or from living in America. Such a law would only create two classes of Asiatics among us—those who are already American citizens by birthright and those born after such a law may be passed, constituting a permanent Japanese population forced by us into loyalty to Japan, generation after generation. The policy is wholly un-American. It would produce confusion and disloyalty. It is an ominous program.

5. The only solution for the California-Japanese question is a program based on justice, fair-dealing, and truth. Immigration not only should be stopped but for all practical purposes has been stopped. If a law on the subject is to be passed by Congress it should be courteous and honorable, free from race discrimination. Japanese, moreover, who qualify for American citizenship and desire it should be admitted.

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Lost Anchors

By EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON

Like a dry fish flung inland far from shore,
There lived a sailor, warped and ocean-browned,
Who told of an old vessel, harbor-drowned
And out of mind a century before,
Where divers, on descending to explore
A legend that had lived its way around
The world of ships, in the dark hulk had found
Anchors, which had been seized and seen no more.

Improving a dry leisure to invest
Their misadventure with a manifest
Analogy that he may read who runs,
The sailor made it old as ocean grass—
Telling of much that once had come to pass
With him, whose mother should have had no sons.

Books

Profits, Wages, Prices

Profits, Wages and Prices. By David Friday. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

MR. FRIDAY'S book is a striking demonstration of the primitive state of economic science, and of its trifling influence upon the conduct of the nation's business. Everybody has been talking at length about profiteering, high wages, high prices, currency and credit inflation, booms and depressions, without knowing the relevant facts from which conclusions may be drawn. If an expert in medical research were so careless in his generalizations about physical disease as are most financiers, business men, and labor leaders about industrial troubles, he would be barred from every scientific society in the country. Most writers have been basing their reasoning upon a series of so-called "economic laws" which were invented in the study years ago by men without accurate knowledge even of the economic phenomena of their own time. Mr. Friday, merely by collecting the information made available by a few war agencies, incomplete as it is, and basing his conclusions on observed facts, has been able to throw doubt upon some of the most respectable conclusions of economists, to say nothing of the assumptions to be found in current popular discussion.

His study of profits shows, of course, an enormous increase during the war, but not a progressive or a uniform increase. There were extremely wide variations, even among groups in the same business, such as banking, where conditions are supposed to be nearly standard. The rate of profit does not center about a normal point; it seems to have little to do with the necessity of the service performed; capital seeking investment shows little tendency to reduce or normalize excessive profits, as the text-books tell us it will. In truth, many of the automatic "laws" receive cold comfort from the facts.

What was done with the corporate profits? Most of them were not distributed to the favored class of stockholders in the form of dividends. A large part went to the government in taxation, and the rest was reserved for capital investment. The dimensions of this kind of accumulation form perhaps the most startling revelation of the study. It was this accumulation that kept the rate of interest down when it was expected to rise during the war. "Saving" and "investment"—those individual virtues which are ordinarily supposed to be the chief source of productive capital—as a matter of fact contribute much the smaller part of it. Even banks derive the major share of their capital not from their stockholders, but from their earnings. Bank credit is not based upon deposits arising from individual savings so much as it is manufactured. The volume of deposits itself does not indicate savings, since most deposits really represent loans credited to the account of the borrower. The vital question about profits is, therefore, not merely whether they operate to distribute wealth unevenly in the present, but whether they secrete too large a portion of it in the form of capital and credit, and whether the power over production thus given to the owners of capital is used for the best interests of the community.

The facts also will disturb many of the theories about high prices. They show, for instance, that the excess and war-profits taxes could have had little influence upon prices, since prices rose the least when these taxes were heaviest. They show that the large quantity of currency and credit did not in itself inflate prices—though it may have been a necessary accompaniment of inflation. They show that high prices were not the result of high wages or of underproduction—except possibly after the armistice. Wages did not rise until after prices rose, and when prices were rising, production was at its highest. High prices were the result of European war demand, which began by bidding up certain war materials, thus affecting in turn profits, credit, production, materials, and, last of all, wages.

Where the facts are fewest, Mr. Friday is most uncertain. This is the case, for instance, in his discussion of wages. From what facts were available, he tentatively concluded that wages on the average eventually rose more than the cost of living, but not much more. His figures are derived chiefly from reports of corporations most of which were engaged in war production. They avoid wage scales, and deal for the most part with yearly incomes, which account for overtime and for full-time employment. Often they include the salaried personnel along with the wage-worker. On this reckoning, he concludes that the average wage in 1920 had become about 210 per cent of that in 1914. But he makes no allowance for the smaller increases in non-war industries, or for reductions in overtime and full-time employment in the spring of 1919 and the fall of 1920, or for the inclusion of inflated salaries of executive personnel. Furthermore, he assumes that the cost of living would not double, while later information would have shown him that actually it more than doubled. It would probably be more accurate to scale down his 210 per cent to about 200, and the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics places the cost of living in June, 1920, at 216.5 per cent of that in 1913. The most that could be said is that for a very brief period the average rate of yearly wages overtook and passed the cost of living, only to fall below it once more. For now, though wage rates are not yet falling as rapidly as prices, the volume of employment is dropping like a plummet. And it should be remembered also that an average of this kind includes as many wide variations as an average of profits. Some skilled men in advantageous positions received a high percentage of advance, as did large groups of unskilled who had been pitifully underpaid before the war. Between them are groups who never caught up with their former standards.

In another matter, which has little bearing on his main conclusions, Mr. Friday accepts uncritically a common belief which is as ill supported by facts as many of the others which he rejects. Decreased productivity since the armistice, he thinks, was one potent cause of the recent rise in prices, and this decreased productivity he attributes to the "inefficiency of labor." May not the decreased productivity have resulted from, rather than have caused, the rise in prices? This sounds like unorthodox economics, but a survey of the facts might easily support it. Certainly there are reasons for thinking that at least in building, in textile manufacturing, in leather, clothing, and shoes, prices went higher than production cost necessitated, and that as a result of high prices people stopped buying and production was reduced. Reduced production, whatever the cause, would normally result in a higher unit labor

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cost, no matter what the energy and good-will of the individual workman. And it is about time for informed students to cease attributing high unit labor cost solely to "inefficiency of labor." A man waiting at his machine, eager for work to do, will raise unit cost as much as a man deliberately slacking on the job. Why disregard the other factors in production, such as management, capital, and the organization of production and distribution itself? It may be that these factors became less efficient after the war, because of the scrapping of war control and the unleashing of competition and the profit motive.

Mr. Friday cannot be disputed when he concludes that the surest way to raise real wages is to increase production. He would perform an invaluable service if he would now go on to inquire scientifically how production may be increased. He might ask how the capital accumulation of the corporations is actually being employed. He might discriminate in detail between kinds of production—for instance, between the capital going into the manufacture of consumption goods for the possessors of the larger incomes, such as high-priced automobiles, and that going into the production of necessities for everyone, such as homes, and that going into unproductive channels, or even into the restriction of production. And he might also estimate the factor of economic waste, tracing it to its causes as far as possible. The field for such further investigation of facts is almost unlimited. GEORGE SOULE

Psychology and Nationality

The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism. By W. B. Pillsbury. D. Appleton and Company.

The Psychology of Nations. By G. E. Partridge. The Macmillan Company.

NOTHING has been more disappointing in the reconstructive mood than the haste to forget the recent past and to become absorbed as of old in the pursuit of an unquestioned routine. The greatest of all wars, propounding the most momentous of all problems, has become a topic provoking ennui. A fairer perspective will assert itself as incidents compose into a picture, and far-reaching convictions emerge above political stress. The historian, the economist, the statesman find a hearing in terms of the immediate problems that constitute the urge toward reconstruction. The psychologist must be content with a smaller audience. It is important that he should be placed on record at the present juncture; this is ably done in the analyses of Professors Pillsbury and Partridge, which are at once independent and complementary contributions.

While nationality is the theme, the mood of war is the incentive to its discussion; the nation at war shadows if not overshadows the nation at peace. War is much more than an incident or an institution or the claim of an instinct, in that it is a social manifestation of high complexity. It roots deep in social origins, and bears the marks of evolution no less in causes and incentives and warrants and attitudes, than in the conduct of warfare and its restrictions. The war-mind of nations enters into national psychology as formatively as the peace-mind.

Mr. Pillsbury interprets the problem of nationality to include an analytical inquiry into the basis of coherence of social groups —family, tribe, clan, nation—and an historical survey of the forms which these indispensable structures have assumed under the stress of geography, trade, political rule, and culture generally. The nucleus of psychological cohesion remains, but is completely overlaid by the later products of social interplay, of which the formation of ideals comes to be the dominant in modern life, as it was in all ancient civilizations that furnish parallel and guide to latter-day thought. Racial affinity and local habitation, language, religion, and a body of tradition reinforce but do not constitute the essence of nationality, which is that of community of thought and feeling indoctrinated and deliberately maintained; and which is, therefore, also subject to fairly rapid change under modern conditions of rapid spread of ideas, customs, and the complex machinery of living. By the same token the addition of a new sense, already well founded in the economic interdependence, in the community of cultural and particularly of moral precepts and ideals, seems the indispensable next step; the international mind and the cosmopolitan mood have appeared fitfully in ages past on the psychological horizon, and now on the political horizon, with a promise awaiting the test of the future.

The theme is well emphasized in the psychology of hate. The limitation of the sense of community to those within the tribe engenders a sense of antagonism to those without. Hate would seem to have a stronger efficiency and a deeper organizing potency than sympathy; we cherish what we have fought for, and fighting implies an enemy, as the enemy implies an object of hate. We ally against even more than with. Yet the modern world has witnessed a shifting of national allegiance on an unprecedented scale; and the process called naturalization is so obviously artificial that we regard Americanization of the most heterogeneous folk as an attainable end within a generation or two. The scale of the process renews attention to the animus of the corporate unit called the nation, and thus brings the problem back to that of mass psychology. Mr. Pillsbury agrees with his critical fellow-psychologists that the notion of the crowd as a mob has been grievously overworked. The mob is really the exceptional case in which the "slowly acquired and tested ideals" are unfavorably situated for assertion. Mob action and sentiment offer a dramatic theme attractive to the sociologist upon simplicity bent, but in actual life represent but a fraction of the true consolidation upon which nationality rests.

By Mr. Partridge the psychological clue to war is presented as an "intoxication impulse," which political motives and the upper-level psychological products utilize and employ. War belongs to history more than to biology; its psychology, even at primitive levels of expression, far transcends instinct, since it depends upon deeper moods and rationalized and organized antagonisms—the product of generalization. War is "a great ecstasy of the social life"; it is the war mood that must be explained; as such it is related to allied ecstasies "of art, religion, intoxication, love," and *par exemple* their common trend toward mysticism. The dominant reinforcement of the mood is the motive of power, delusive, it may be, in intoxication, but real in the uprising of a people; and power socialized and institutionalized represents the aggrandizement political. The German attempt failed through failure to find the motive upon the high level toward which twentieth-century nationalism is striving. "The best motives of the old feudalism and the new industrialism tried to unite"; they failed because of psychological, as well as institutional, incompatibility.

In the historical perspective the occasions and situations that summon the great instincts and emotions and the mode of their organization become far more significant than their original nature. Yet it is a principle of evolutionary psychology—reinforced by the Freudian point of view—that the early trends endure as a nucleus, however intricately overlaid by later growths. Thus Germany's large army represents a compensation motive for limited territory, and the appeal to God to punish England is a confession of impotence, quite as the delusion of superiority is the same Freudian betrayal of a sense of inferiority. Through the same analysis is laid bare the aesthetic appeal of war—the glory that enhances the call of duty, the pomp and ceremony, the color and movement, the romance and venture. But the poetry as well as the reality of patriotism requires rationalized motives, notably the sense of honor, which is capable of fusion with the complex forms of national life. The formulated motives, dominantly political, still require the fortification from the ancient reservoir of instinct, emotion, and sentiment. "Causes" thus emerge as the occasions of war and the supreme sacrifice; they are fusions of ideals and situations, like the invasion of Belgium, and arouse indignation equally through the violation of principle as of territory. "The ideal of force is met by the force of the ideal."

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Mr. Partridge offers a masterly survey of the central arena of contention, which is the course of rationalization by which the leaders of nations justify policy and action. We can readily name the orders of influence: philosophical, religious, moral, economic, political, generally historical; we thus pose the problem of their interaction and relative place. Who is the more significant—Nietzsche, Bismarck, or Krupp? Are philosophies explanations after the fact and fairly impotent to push toward or away from fate? Doubtless cause and effect move in circles; but there is something that shifts the center and gives the spiral course to events. The academic bias favors ideas. The very reason that they are expressed and circulated points to them as the mechanism of power, while they may be only the mechanism of exchange, the real values lying elsewhere.

Mr. Partridge's solution is written in the second half of his essentially two-volume book. The reply is education. The sublimation of motives is an educational process. The symbol of democracy is the school. He agrees that the international mood is in the ascendant and that in it lies the promise and the hope of men. He investigates what the content and the spirit of the new nationalism must be that shall further this mood and stimulate its vitality. Education receives a richer and a more practical meaning through the bloody handwriting of the great war. The program seems vague, but is thoroughly pragmatic in temper and requires only the devotion and tact which form the pedagogue's kit, when attitudes and not facilities are the purpose of instruction. "We are no longer to be satisfied with *natural progress.* We have gone too far and too long, let us say, upon a rising tide of biological forces, and we have not yet realized what conscious evolution might mean. . . . A world in which democracy is going to prevail can no longer live in this way. It will not grow of itself in a state of nature. Its principle, on the other hand, forbids program-making after the manner of autocratic societies. Democracy, as the form in which the youthful and exuberant spirit of the world now makes ready for creating the next stage of civilization, will advance, we may suppose, neither by nature nor by force. It is the main work of our day to find for ourselves a new and better mode of shaping history, by bringing to bear upon all the social motives of the day the best and strongest influences. . . . It is a practical world, a world of politics and of business, but it is also a world exceedingly sensitive to many influences, good and bad, a world in which, we may think, nothing great and permanent may be accomplished unless moral, religious, and aesthetic influences prevail and give to our civilization its new dominant." The translation of these influences into practical forces is at once the work of the teacher and the statesman. A part of the new requirement is that the two shall no longer practice in a temper of suspicion or indifference, but of a joint venture and responsibility. The correction of the narrow political nationalism is the broadening and deepening of the social structure through the humanities.

JOSEPH JASTROW

Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton. By Henry Jones Ford. Charles Scribner's Sons.

REFERRING to the destruction of many of Hamilton's papers, "burned by a son of one of Schuyler's executors because he regarded them as too personal to be exposed to the risk of publicity," Professor Ford says that "a Bowdlerized style of writing history and biography was once in vogue that made suppression of truth seem actually meritorious. . . . Hamilton's reputation has suffered greatly by it. His career was too vivid and salient, his statesmanship too incisive, his self revelation too candid to admit of the Bowdlerizing process, and he cannot be judged fairly unless all is brought out and put into the scales. Such has been my aim in the present work."

It cannot be said that Mr. Ford has failed to live up to this purpose. He has made himself familiar with the subject; he has not attempted to conceal anything; he has written a clear, straightforward, well-proportioned account of Hamilton's career. Although a great admirer of Hamilton, he does not in general hesitate to apply to him a thoughtful and discriminating analysis. In particular Mr. Ford holds the scales even in his treatment of the Burr episode. In his account Burr appears in a better light than Hamilton, whose intense hatred of his political opponent was largely responsible for his own untimely death.

In respect to the treatment of Jefferson, one feels, however, that the scales have not been held quite even. Here Hamilton is too much represented as the honorable and disinterested patriot who had to contend with the unreasonable animosity of a supple intriguer. "Although more than any other man he was establishing the new government on a solid and durable basis, he was accused of planning its overthrow and was the object of a vast concoction of fiction to that purport." No doubt. But a vast concoction of fiction in politics was not unknown before Hamilton's time, nor has it disappeared since. In Hamilton's time a vast concoction of fiction was by no means confined to the Jeffersonian press; and it is as easy to understand why Jefferson believed that Hamilton was a dangerous reactionary as it is to understand why Hamilton believed Jefferson to be a dangerous revolutionary. Both parties were planning to overthrow the government—that is understood; but is there any reason for thinking one party more honest in its belief than the other? That Hamilton was working to establish the new government on a solid and durable basis is more apparent now than it was then; but if the work of Hamilton had not been counterbalanced by the influence of Jefferson and all that he stood for, one wonders whether that work would have proved as solid and durable as it in fact turned out to be.

If Mr. Ford may be said to show a certain bias in favor of Hamilton and against Jefferson, I think it is due to the fact that he is not occupied exclusively with the historical problem of explaining Hamilton in the light of his time, although he does occupy himself with this, too. But in addition he has always in the back of his mind a pretty fixed standard, in the shape of a political philosophy, by which he judges the statesmanship of Hamilton; and it happens that, measured by this standard, Hamilton is essentially right and Jefferson essentially wrong.

"All his thought and effort were addressed to the great question which he propounded in the first number of *The Federalist*: 'Whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.' The answer is not yet quite clear, but it is quite clear that the greatest contribution to political method on the side of free agency is that which was made by Alexander Hamilton. Anticipating biological principles unknown to the age in which he lived, he stated the law of political development to be that 'Every institution will grow and flourish in proportion to the quantity and extent of the means concentrated toward its formation and support.' That principle . . . still remains the only safe principle that political theory has supplied to political practice, and his success in discovering and applying it puts Alexander Hamilton among the greatest statesmen the world has produced."

I suspect that an adequate commentary on this would take one farther than the limits of a review would permit; nor am I sufficiently familiar with the history of political theory to judge what safe principles, if any, political theory has supplied to political practice. But as to the principle itself, which Mr. Ford makes so much of, and which he says Hamilton discovered and applied, I confess that with the best will in the world I can make nothing of it but a quite meaningless succession of words. Personally, I should have found Mr. Ford's book more interesting if he had been more disposed to search out the influences—economic, social, temperamental—which would help to

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explain why Hamilton held the political philosophy which he did hold, and less concerned with whether this political philosophy was a true or a false philosophy. This, however, is only a personal preference, and in no way detracts from the substantial merit of the work.

CARL BECKER

Conservation

The United States Forest Policy. By John Ise. Yale University Press.

Water Resources: Present and Future Uses. By Frederick Haynes Newell. Yale University Press.

PROFESSOR ISE'S volume is mainly an historical review of Federal forest policies. In accordance with the logic of events it falls into four parts. The first covers the period previous to 1891—the year of the forest reserve act which definitely provided for national ownership. The second deals with that act, the supplementary law of 1897, and the steps taken by succeeding Presidents to develop our national forests and to foster a systematic policy of conservation. A third part summarizes the rise and growth of the intense opposition to national forests and conservation. A fourth part discusses results and the future. The historical sections present minute accounts of the important acts of Congress—the origin, progress, and congressional discussion of each bill being treated on the basis of original sources. "A rather depressing story it is," confesses the author, "a story of reckless and wasteful destruction of magnificent forests, and of flagrant and notorious theft of valuable lands—a story that Americans will follow with little pride." However, given a growing nation composed of indomitable and acquisitive individuals engaged in the relentless pursuit of private fortunes and a government that reflected their spirit, nothing else was to be expected. There was no "state" or set of opposing interests of such a character as to afford even a rallying point of opposition. Nor can it be said that we are entirely out of the primitive period of our history. As Mr. Ise points out, three-fourths of our standing timber has gravitated into the hands of a relatively few holders; there is a certain element of monopoly in the lumber business; lumbering is a precarious enterprise; and we are still without a reasoned and accepted policy of conservation.

Nevertheless, there have been in the conservation legislation of the past decade many signs of progress. The classification of public lands urged by Mr. Ise has gone forward rapidly. The policy of permanent national ownership coupled with development under lease had been recognized in several important acts —legislative and administrative—since 1910. When one considers the character of the powerful interests aligned against such collectivism, it is really surprising that Congress has been able to make any headway against the current. Books like this by Mr. Ise will contribute to the growth of public sentiment. Perhaps it is not too much to expect that professional historians may sometimes hear about it and include instruction in this phase of our economic history along with carpet-bag scandals and operations on President Cleveland's throat.

It is really too bad from the point of view of the plain citizen that Professor Newell's book which disposes of legal and legislative problems in a few pages, does not go fully into the history and public policies of irrigation and water storage. He knows so much about the inside and outside of water politics that he should be compelled by a statute or writ of mandamus to tell his story; but, of course, it is wrong to quarrel with him. He has seen fit to limit himself to the economic and technical side of water storage, management, and uses. His volume will be gratefully received by those legislative and administrative authorities that are seeking a broad view of the subject as well as by young engineers who may have occasion to wrestle with the larger aspects of water problems. Those citizens who have long known their obligation to Mr. Newell for his devoted public services will feel their debt doubled as they read this remarkable survey of our water resources and uses. One would like to think of this book among the required readings in a course on economics. That would be one way of encouraging laymen to support the efforts of the scientific men who desire to see the utilization of "the natural resources of the country for the common welfare" —a hope expressed by Mr. Newell in his introduction.

CHARLES A. BEARD

The Evolution of Religion

The Social Evolution of Religion. By George Willis Cooke. The Stratford Company.

THE author tells us that this book contains fifty years' study of religion, but there is not the slightest suspicion in it of an old man's conservatism. Few books about religion are more radical, more fearless, more resolutely faced toward the future than this one designed to set forth the doctrine that religion is a social product and that its end lies in the same plane as its source. Consequently, in its historical survey it minimizes the individual. Jesus, Confucius, and Zoroaster come in for only brief mention, and Buddha and Mahomet fare but little better. Paul is twice cavalierly mentioned, Luther and Francis are utterly ignored. The Hebrew prophets are alluded to but in mass.

The treatment of Christianity is variously typical. We hear at the outset the suggestive remark that no other religion has been less influenced by its founder. He is then introduced thus: "We may accept it as probable, perhaps as certain, that there appeared in Palestine at about the time of the origin of Christianity a prophet or reformer who claimed to answer to the Jewish conception of the Messiah. More than one such reformer and claimant appeared in Jewish history, and that a certain Jesus or Joshua made such claim is by no means incredible or that he should be an artisan. As we have seen, this was a time in which the artisan world was awakening." Save for a sentence which recounts the fact of his appeal to the poor, Jesus then disappears. "The center of gravity," we are assured, "has been transferred from a personality to the great social forces operating in wide regions." It is they which have produced the doctrines of the Incarnation, Atonement, Communion with God, and the Resurrection. After the mythical character of these doctrines has been established, the author excuses his "negative" treatment of Christianity because of the necessity of emphasizing its syncretist nature. And just as we are prepared to protest against this utter blindness to the value of a great human personality, we read this unexpected sentence: "Stripped of his legendary and miraculous settings, the Christ may be regarded as the purest, loftiest, and most human figure in the history of religion. His moral teaching, his human sympathy, his fellowship with the poorest and meanest, his boundless compassion, his fidelity to his own convictions even to the bearing of the cross, give him a character above that of any of the gods of the ancient world." Then, as though he had been sufficiently magnanimous, the author pursues his social quest. Equally unexpected is it to read in a book which insists that "religion is inevitably social in origin and development" and that "what we have need of is not great men but great institutions," that "were it not for the fanatic, the man of an intensely egotistical thought, there would be no religion, at least in the earliest ages of civilization."

The main contention of the book may be briefly stated. The best part of human experience is not congenitally but socially transmitted. All early religions are expressions of the central life of a group. The great sacred writings owe their sublimity and authority to their communal authorship. Magic passes into religion only through a communal ritual. Feudal religion emphasizes sovereignty and personality. Animism yields to anthropomorphism. Matriarchal relations suggest female deities, which, however, soon wane in importance. Authority and com-

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mandments for individuals and the dread of eternal punishment emerge. On the formation of nations, national religions with their trend toward monotheism appear. Monotheism fails to arise in Greece and India because of the diversity of life and the weakness of national spirit. Migration and assimilation portend international religions. The syncretist process on the Mediterranean culminates in Christianity. Universal religion is yet to come; the nearest approach to it is patriotism, which should be superseded by unification of the nations. The new tendency of thought, save for an ebullition of occultism, is away from the supernatural toward the human. Belief in God and immortality is declining. Religion has but three possibilities, to die, to take refuge in sublimated nature-worship, or to become consciously a religion of collective humanity. Materialism is no more selfish than idealism. Under either philosophy there may be, must be, an inner world of man's own creation. All humanity has made it what it is. It has so real an existence that many feel it to be the only world that has true meaning. It is being constantly refurbished and made worthier of human habitation. Heretofore man has been an unconscious creator of religions. Now that he realizes his power, he will create a religion far nobler than these which now are passing away.

A. W. VERNON

The Making of a Vers-Libriste

Development. By W. Bryher. With a Preface by Amy Lowell. The Macmillan Company.

THIS brief and beautifully written book is the first instalment of an artist's autobiography. It gives us access to a literary psychology which, in this special form, is both new and important. The visible world has existed for other periods and other men. But it was, even to Theophile Gautier, a dimensional world, a world of bodies and shadows, a world never quite empty—did not Gautier write "Coquetterie Posthume?"—of the concrete fates of men and so of passion and its rhythms. To the consciousness analyzed in "Development" the earth and its fulness contracts to a jeweler's shop-window. The moonstones are delicately pale, the rubies glow, and the jade lies richly quiet. "Her whole vocabulary became a palette of colors, luminous gold, a flushed red, tones neither sapphire nor violet." She saw in Sicily "a herd of brown and shaggy goats under a geranium hedge." They do not really move, these goats, and they evoke nothing. They are not fed or milked. They remain a static image. Miss Lowell quotes with admiration in her preface: "Sunset carved the eastern islands out of grape-blue darkness with a gold knife." It is striking, but is it not a mere conceit? Has it anything to do with the creative imagination? There is a seeing eye. But what it saw has been rearranged into a cold bit of decorative scheming and the word "grape" is immensely calculated. "Picture after picture," we are told, shaped in the mind of our vers-libriste, Nancy; "she was shaken by a craving for color"—not for rock or ruin, tree or star, fur or flesh with their characteristic hues, but for color. By her own confession, indeed, she found color in words rather than in things. "She sought for vivid and original expression of a color as another might have hunted for a moth or a rare shell"—not, be it observed, as another might have sought ecstasy or liberation or even pain. The pure imagist is far more like a collector than like a poet. Instead of communicating a rhythmic interpretation of experience, he hands you a box of transfixed butterflies with beautiful, dead wings.

Nancy was quite companionless, but she was never lonely. People irked her, as they irk most sensitive souls. But she had no need of them because the beauty that she sought had nothing to do with flesh and blood. She liked the Duchess of Malfi as one likes somber tones in an old painting. She thought that Keats was "too weak to satisfy her"; perhaps he was too strong. She could glide contentedly along the endless stream of images in Morris's "Earthly Paradise." She saw Italy and Egypt, Spain and Sicily and Algeria, and played vaguely in her earliest years with the gestures of dead heroes. But later her world is utterly dispeopled. She is eighteen when we leave her and enormously precocious on the side of her special art; she has not prayed or loved or wept or thought. Neither passion nor mystery have touched her. She is alone with her palette of colors.

She finds her medium of expression by way of a curious and widespread misconception. She reads the great French vers-libristes and proceeds to write like H. D. and Miss Amy Lowell. "Rhyme had already begun to grate harshly on an ear that daily grew more sensitive to curve of rhythm and subtlety of phrase." What has that to do with the stormy but elaborate harmonies of Verhaeren or the suave, round melodies of Régnier? Both poets are among the most heavily rhymed in the world; neither, except Régnier in his "Odelettes," dreamed of discarding rhyme. Verhaeren's "L'Arbre" or Régnier's "Le Vase" are no more free verse in the English sense than Dryden's "Ode on the Death of Mrs. Anne Killigrew" or Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality." Their verse was called free in France because they did not confine themselves to the traditional stanzaic forms and did not always alternate masculine and feminine rhyme. Nancy writes no more like the author of "Les Villes tentaculaires" than Carl Sandburg like the poet of the "Ode Written in a Time of Hesitation." Her "sensitiveness to curve of rhythm" makes her reduce that curve as far as possible to the condition of a straight line. It is much more to the point when she quotes, for its rhythmic quality, a sentence from "Salammbo"; it is revealing that she delights in the prose of Lodge and Lyly. Is not a good deal of verse in unrhymed cadences a new and infinitely rarified sort of Euphuism?

Whenever the pulses beat or the mind confronts the dreadful universe, man sings and does not only speak. Rhyme is non-essential, as we see in the ancients; rhythm is as integral to expression as it is to the ebb and flow of the sea, the systole and diastole of the blood. To tell us that "a poppy sail burned on an umber ship," you can reduce your rhythms to the hush of prose. But poetry, as Milton knew, is passionate and its voice rises above such level murmuring. Perhaps in "Adventure," the promised continuation of "Development," Nancy will meet the passions of life and find rhythm and thus pass from imagism to poetry.

Books in Brief

HISTORIANS of early twentieth-century British and American verse will be glad that the anthologists of this generation were numerous and busy. Hardly a month goes by during which a collection of more or less important poems fails to appear. "An Anthology of Recent Poetry: Compiled by L. D'O. Walters: With an Introduction by Harold Monro" (Dodd, Mead), incidentally issued also by Brentano's in elaborate holiday form, with illustrations by Harry Clarke, contains British poems selected for their simplicity, their innocence, and the absence from them of anything which would "disturb." The result is a golden treasury for the naive, something between "A Child's Garden of Verses" and "Georgian Poetry." Thomas Hardy is represented, but not, of course, by a characteristic poem. "Contemporary Verse Anthology: Favorite Poems Selected from the Magazine 'Contemporary Verse,' 1916-1920: With an Introduction by Charles Wharton Stork" (Dutton) is aimed at a literary audience that is neither radical nor conservative, but appreciative of "normal and intelligible" young American poets. It has a little that is very good, more that is very bad, and very much that is mediocre. "American and British Verse from the Yale Review: With a Foreword by John Gould Fletcher" (Yale University Press) is remarkable for three good poems by John Gould Fletcher, Maxwell Bodenheim, and Henry Adams. The last, called Buddha and Brahma, is an interesting exposition of the contemplative soul, and a valuable relic of its author's brain.

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Drama

Native Plays

AT the end of the first performance of "Miss Lulu Bett" (Belmont Theater) it was difficult not to be persuaded that here was the most genuine achievement of the American stage since Eugene O'Neill's "Beyond the Horizon." One saw at once that Miss Zona Gale had not mechanically dramatized her novel, but had turned her original fable into a play and had given it in its new form a weightier and severer ending. The dramatic action which she had built up was, save for a single debatable use of accident, the most inevitable that we recall in the work of any American playwright. Almost immediately pressure was brought to bear upon the author and the producer of the play from two different sources. Because Miss Gale had hitherto been known as a novelist, and because her play dispensed with the flashy artifices of the theater, the critics, who are wedded to a rigid and mechanical theory of technique and divorced from any fellowship with that creative imagination which builds its fit form anew every time it is exercised, promptly declared "Miss Lulu Bett" to be undramatic and sighed that Miss Gale had not called upon the assistance of, let us say, Mr. Owen Davis or Mr. Willard Mack. The public, persuaded and abetted by such criticism, agreed to find the play dull and in the second week of its career a new third act was substituted for the original one. In this new act the unnecessary spouse of Ninian Deacon obligingly dies and Lulu achieves respectable wifehood interrupted only by such quite safe vicissitudes as excite but do not trouble the all too tender heart. Her act of liberation is thus stultified and with it the significance and strength of the dramatic action sacrificed at one blow.

What still remains, especially for those who have the self-mastery to leave at the end of the second act, are Miss Gale's people and the moral atmosphere she has created. The second element is the rarer and the more notable. What differentiates Hervieu from Bernstein, Hauptmann from Lindau, Galsworthy from Jones, is, above all things, the feeling that the dense and peculiar moral atmosphere of life must be brought upon the stage if any interpretative illusion of reality is to be created. The conventions of the theater may let the drama flare up for an hour; they cannot make it live. Now it is not too much to say that no other American dramatist has succeeded in so fully and richly transferring to the stage the exact moral atmosphere of a class, a section, and a period, as Miss Gale. That Deacon family group on its front porch is magnificent and memorable. The preaching and blustering and nagging of Dwight, the prattling and posturing of his wife, the cold and weary resistance of Lulu, the crafty little rebellions of the child Monona, the sentimentalized scorn and detachment of Diana—these things that project the strain and tug and essential hollowness and maladjustment of the lives involved, mark an enormous advance in the American drama and ally this unpretentious little play with such works as "The Father" and "Michael Kramer."

Mr. Eugene O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones," presented by the Provincetown Players (Selwyn Theater), escaped, curiously enough, the fate of being attacked as undramatic. Yet Mr. O'Neill shattered the form of conventional stage technique much more thoroughly than Miss Gale. His play is in eight scenes and it is largely a monodrama. He pursued the method of the genuine artist in molding his medium to the use of his specific intention. And in his ability to do that lies half the power and promise of his piece. We say promise with regret and yet with certainty. The visions of the fleeing Negro do not wholly convince the imagination because they were not melted in a sufficient inner fire. They make the impression of having been carefully and intelligently selected rather than of having leaped from a creative necessity that could not be denied. The performance of the play is rendered of first-rate importance by the acting of Mr. Charles S. Gilpin. He has stirring power and yet leaves with one the sense of vast sources of energy untapped. Hence in moments of the severest strain he is never even on the edge of violence. And he has a mellow ease of execution which permits him to pass from mood to mood and from passion to passion with so living a continuity that it blots out all consciousness of his artistic skill. An uncommonly expressive countenance aids him in the first scene and a voice of equal range and richness in the succeeding ones. But these natural advantages are to him only the materials of a recreative process that is as intelligent as it is impassioned.

"Miss Lulu Bett" suffered theatrical revision after presentation; it is apparent that "Wake up, Jonathan" by Hatcher Hughes and Elmer E. Rice endured the same fate before it saw the stage. Internal evidence, including the whole of the brilliant second act, leaves little doubt that the theme was selected not because it had been used before, in Mr. Samuel Shipman's "First is Last," for instance, but through a clear recognition of the fact that the stuff of authentic satirical comedy in America is rightly to be sought in the contrast between bigness and greatness, speed and direction, aimless material bustle and creative action. And this contrast is legitimately embodied in a millionaire, a poet, and an acute feminine intelligence that has weighed and determined the value of each. Only, unhappily, in the play as it stands, the millionaire is acted—if not conceived—as a man of straw, the poet is an ineffectual sentimentalist, and the action is cluttered with pathetic children, Christmas reunions, and young stage-love. The contrast is weakened and the satirical intention blurred by the melodrama of the first and third acts, despite passages of keen and penetrating dramatic writing throughout the second. The character of the woman, Marion Blake, is by far the best and offers Mrs. Fiske a pliant and seamless medium for her art—crisp, dry, incisive, yet not without touches of sunset warmth and glow.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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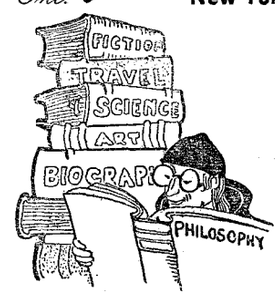

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International Relations Section

Labor's Status in Japan

THE Japanese factory law, printed below, was put into effect in 1916, after several years of discussion and agitation. It is still in effect, but since the adoption by the International Labor Conference at Washington of international standards of labor, it has been reported that the Japanese Government is planning a revision of the law to bring its provisions more nearly in line with the standards of the other civilized countries of the world. The following translation—the first in the English language—is taken from the *East and West News* (New York) for November 17.

I. This law is applicable to factories belonging to any of the following classes: (1) Those which employ more than 15 workers at the time the present law goes into effect, and (2) those which deal with dangerous and unsanitary materials (sulphur, mercury, poison, explosives, gas, etc.). Those factories to be exempt from the application of the law may be specified by Imperial Ordinance.

II. Factory owners must not employ in factories children below the age of twelve. This does not interfere with the continued employment of children above ten, if it happens at the time of the enactment of this law. The administration authorities can allow factory owners to employ children above 10 years of age in factories for lighter kinds of work.

III. Children below the age of 15 and women shall not be forced to work more than 12 hours a day. The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce may, however, allow the extension of the hours to 14 in certain industries (spinning, weaving, etc.) for 15 years following the enactment of this law.

IV. Children below the age of 15 and women shall not be employed in factories between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m.

V. This, however, does not apply in the following cases: (1) In industries whose nature necessitates immediate work (food packing, printing, etc.); (2) in industries which require night work as a necessity; (3) in industries which require continuous operation, and in which, therefore, workers are shifted. After 15 years from the enactment of this law, children below 14 and women below 20 shall not be employed between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. under any circumstances.

VI. In case one or more shifts are made, provision IV will not apply for 15 years following the enactment of this law.

VII. Factory owners must allow children under 15 and women workers at least two days of rest each month. For all workers employed at night work at least four days of rest each month must be allowed. In case a day's work runs longer than 6 hours, at least half an hour; in case it runs longer than 10 hours, at least an hour of rest must be allowed workers during work. When two or more sets of operators are employed in alternation in day and night work, such alternation or shift must be made at least once in ten days to the set of operators engaged in the work between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m.

VIII. In case of natural calamity or other crisis or of apparent approach of it, the Minister in charge may temporarily suspend the application of provisions III and V in localities or industries affected. When factory owners are forced, from unavoidable causes, to speed work, they may obtain permission from the Administration Agent to prolong the working hours in spite of provision III; employ children and women in night work in spite of provisions IV and V; and abolish holidays, in spite of provisions VII, within a limited period. In case of temporary necessity, factory owners may, by notification to authorities, prolong working hours for two hours during a period of seven days per month. In seasonal industries, factory owners may obtain permission from the Administration Agent to extend working hours by one hour for a period not exceeding 120 days per year.

IX. Children below the age of 15 years and women shall not be employed for cleaning, oiling, inspecting, repairing, or handling any machine when in motion, or dangerous parts of a machine, or for any other dangerous work.

X. Children under 15 shall not be employed in factories where poisons, strong acids, explosives, auto-combustible elements, or any other poisonous or harmful materials are handled; where poisonous gases are emitted; where air is dusty and foul, and where the nature of work is unsanitary.

XI. To what kind of specific industries and conditions the provisions of Articles IX and X shall be applied will be determined by the Minister in charge. If the authorities deem it necessary, these provisions may also include females above the age of 15.

XII. The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce may issue regulations protecting pregnant women or sick persons engaged in factory work. [A regulation was issued prohibiting the employment of women in factories for five weeks after the birth of a child; of persons affected by such diseases as insanity, leprosy, tuberculosis, syphilis, and other contagious diseases.]

XIII. The Administration Agent may order factory owners to mend or refrain from using the whole or a part of any building or equipment which he considers harmful to the welfare of workers and the public.

XIV. The Administration Agent reserves the right to investigate factories or annexes thereto from time to time. The inspector shall carry with him a government certificate.

XV. In case a worker meets with an accident, becomes ill, or dies, not from a cause he is directly responsible for, the factory owner shall, according to the provisions of the Imperial Ordinance, support him or his family. [The Imperial Ordinance makes detailed provision for employers' liability in industrial accidents. Among others it provides that medical expenses of the injured shall be paid by the employer; the employer shall pay more than one-half of the actual earnings of the injured during three months of illness and one-third thereafter; if injury results in total incapacity, the employer shall pay the actual earnings of more than 150 days; in partial incapacity or deformity of women's features, the earnings of more than 100 days; in case the injured dies, the employer shall pay his family the wages of more than 170 days, etc.]

XVI. The Census Registration Officers shall furnish, without fees, the necessary information, upon inquiry by employer, concerning employees or persons applying for work in his factory.

XVII. The Imperial Ordinance will order how the workman and apprentice shall be employed and discharged, and set forth the regulations for employment agents. [The Ordinance requires permission from the authorities in case children not finishing elementary school are to be employed. It requires employers to pay traveling expenses to minors and women to go home when they are discharged. It provides detailed requirements for the treatment of the apprentice.]

XVIII. The factory owner or owners may appoint a manager and delegate to him all rights and powers. When the owner does not reside in a region governed by this law, he must appoint a representative with full capacity and responsibility. Unless such representation be made by legally acknowledged members of the firm, it is necessary to get a permit from the Administration Agent for the appointment of the representative.

XIX. Such representative shall represent the owner in full capacity except in dealing with matters specified in Article XV.

XX. Those who violate any provisions given in Articles II, V, VII, IX, X, or refuse to submit to the provisions of Article XIII shall be punished by a fine not exceeding 500 yen.

XXI. The factory owner or his manager who without proper reason resists government inspection of factory conditions, or who refuses to answer the questions asked by the inspector, shall be fined a sum not exceeding 300 yen.

XXII. The owner or manager cannot escape responsibility for the violation of the law even if such be caused by the ignorance

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of anyone connected with the factory. Exception, however, will be made when this happens in spite of proper precaution. Ignorance of the age of workmen does not excuse the employer from the charge of a violation of the law.

XXIII. Any one who has complaint against the government agents enforcing this law, or who considers himself injured by misapplication of the law, may appeal to the Court of Administrative Litigation.

XXIV. The Minister in charge can apply, even to factories exempt from the application of the law by virtue of Article I, the provisions of the Articles IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVIII and XXIII of this law.

XXV. This law applies equally to the factories operated by the Government, with the exception of provisions under Articles XVIII and XIX.

Parties and Governments in the Far East

THE trials and difficulties of the small Vladivostok state, hemmed in between Soviet Russia and Japan and torn by disputing internal factions, are vividly depicted in several issues of the Vladivostok newspaper, *Golos Rodini* (Voice of the Motherland), dated November 28-December 4, 1920. The chief question which has been agitating the country has been that of affiliating with the new Far Eastern Republic at Chita, and the debates of the popular assembly reveal conflicts between Communist advocates of union with Chita and ultimate amalgamation with Soviet Russia, moderate Socialist advocates of union with Chita on a democratic basis, conservative opponents of any union whatever. And over the heads of the debaters is constantly suspended the threat of Japanese intervention. This threat is exemplified in the ultimatum addressed by the Japanese diplomatic mission to General Boldirev, a member of the Vladivostok Government. After denying that the Japanese authorities are actively aiding the eastward retreat of the reactionary forces of Semionov and Kappel, the ultimatum continues:

It is reported that the Chita Minister of Transport, Shatov, has sent communications to the local government. However, in case the aforesaid communications concern the railroads, telegraphs, etc., they violate and change the treaties existing between the local government and the Japanese commission; and therefore the latter cannot view such occurrences with indifference and will take the necessary measures.

There are rumors that silver, gold, and valuables which have been returned by the Japanese mission are being transported towards Chita. These articles must be left in Vladivostok. The Japanese Government will check their transportation.

This attitude on the part of Japan is further illustrated by another communication to General Boldirev from the General Staff of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in Siberia.

In view of the present political situation and being desirous of peace, I have the honor of calling to your attention the following considerations: The head of our diplomatic mission here in Vladivostok has lately called the attention of the Vladivostok authorities to the effect which the relations between them and the so-called United Government [of the Far Eastern Republic] at Chita will have upon the Japanese army. At the present time the People's Assembly [at Vladivostok] is discussing the resolution passed by the United Conference at Chita. If the assembly accepts this resolution without amendments, the Maritime Government will be reduced to a pure local administrative organ, subordinate to the so-called Chita United Government, and all its governmental institutions will be transferred from Vladivostok to Chita. In this case the connections between the Maritime Government and its former institutions on the one hand and the Japanese authorities on the other will be completely interrupted, as official relations have not yet been established between the Japanese military authorities and the Chita Government. One may entertain some fear that the orders and instructions issued by the United Government at Chita may be in conflict with the agreements formerly concluded between the Japanese army and the various Russian authorities and that these agreements, which have been in force until now, may violate the legitimate rights of Japan and its army. Even now, before the Vladivostok Government has recognized the authority of the Chita United Government, cases have arisen which justify such a fear. It is not difficult to prophesy what such a recognition will produce. If this should come to pass, the Japanese army, notwithstanding the position which is taken by the Chita Government, having in mind only its vital interests, would be forced to have recourse to suitable measures for direct relations with the Maritime local authorities and their institutions. One may fear that under these circumstances some regrettable results are liable to arise, for which the Japanese army will not hold itself responsible.

A vigorous statement of the Communist viewpoint is made by Deputy Zeitlin in the popular assembly. Here are extracts from his speech, as reported in the *Golos Rodini:*

Our party has always said that the state is an instrument of class rule; and we have always declared that the period of the class rule of the bourgeoisie is ended; and in its stead has come the period of the class rule of the proletariat. The actions of the Communist Party are sincere and honest. In Soviet Russia it has brought to pass a practical rule of the proletariat. Here in the Far East the Communist Party has been and is working for the creation of a purely democratic state; but does so only in view of the internal situation in the Far East.

The Communist Party proposes the following program: Acceptance of union with Chita, recognition of the Far Eastern Republic, no autonomy for the Vladivostok popular assembly. To create an anti-Soviet buffer means to create an anti-Russian buffer; and this cannot and will not be.

The case for the anti-Bolshevik advocates of union with Chita on a democratic basis, with autonomy for the Vladivostok assembly, is put by Deputy Vinogradov:

The entire political situation in the Far East may be summed up as follows: Two forces face each other—Soviet Russia and Japan. The Japanese wish to prevent the movement of the communist system to the Far East. If Soviet Russia cared to break with Japan it would not agree to a buffer state; in making a concession about the buffer state it makes a concession to the political situation in the Far East. It discounts the actual state of affairs and the relation of forces in the Far East.

Denying the charge of the Communists that the Right groups desire to create a "black" buffer in the Far East, I wish to say that such a project is absurd. It is impossible to create here a new anti-Bolshevik front, because, even if there should be found advocates of the creation of such a front, no real forces would follow them. The peasants, who have here not yet tasted all the beauties of the Communist heaven, would not follow such advocates. There can be no guaranty of the cessation of civil war and intervention without a popular assembly.

The propertied classes in Vladivostok are apparently strongly opposed to the project of union with Chita. At a meeting of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, held on November 28, a resolution against union with the Chita Government was passed with only four dissenting votes. The resolution read in part as follows:

The Chita conference [between representatives of the Vladivostok and Far Eastern governments] was not a freely formulated agreement, but a mechanical adoption of the proposals made by Krasnoschokoff, who is an absolutely open agent of the

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tyrannical Soviet Government which now dominates the larger part of Russia. The resolutions of this conference would inevitably lead to usurpation of power by the Communists. The first action of this (Chita) government had for its aim the destruction of the best sons of Russia, represented by the valiant Kappel army, which is the only organized, democratic, military force in the Far East and the only obstacle to the unlimited tyrannical rule of the Communists over the weary population of the Far East. The law promulgated by this government for the seizure and exportation of gold from the Maritime Province, as well as other orders, are deliberate attempts to carry out a Bolshevik system of government, which is directed to the destruction of the normal course of life and inevitably leads to the ultimate ruin and impoverishment of the people. It would be unwise to place hopes in the deliberations of a freely elected constituent assembly, whose makeup and tendency would have been already predecided by the action of the Bolshevik authorities and their party committees. All the misfortunes of the Russian state which have been experienced by the people during the last three years of tyranny by the internationalist gang, which is pushing the ignorant elements toward the road of destruction of their own faith, together with the impoverishment and dying out of the people, absolutely exclude any possibility of cooperation with these dark forces, which trample under foot all laws, human and divine, and all fundamental principles of morality and justice.

The Association further urges its members to refuse obedience to the united government, if unity is achieved, to take all measures to resist its authority, and authorizes the Vladivostok Chamber of Commerce to call a mass meeting and to resort to every means, including the taxation of the mercantile class, to protect the integrity of the free Maritime Province.

The cordial relations existing between the bandit chief Semionov and the Japanese, together with the Japanese desire to find an excuse for occupying the Chinese Eastern Railway are strikingly illustrated in the following published order of Semionov, which seems to be political rather than military in some of its implications:

This is the present political situation: The Japanese command, represented by Colonel Isome guarantees the movement of the Far Eastern army to the Maritime District; but unfortunately Colonel Isome has not at his disposal sufficient armed forces to cover our retreat. The Chinese command promises definite assistance only in transporting our families and relatives. The Chinese troops in the Maritime District are not numerous enough to prevent our retreat. Therefore, in order to create an international precedent; in order to give the Japanese command a pretext to move their troops decisively, to remove the chinese from the railroad, and to close the frontier to the Reds, it is necessary, if the conditions at the front constrain us to do so, to penetrate as close as possible to the railroad right of way, without regard to the Chinese troops on the frontier.

Then follow some military instructions for the practical execution of this ingenious scheme for violating Chinese neutrality and provoking Japanese intervention.

Subsequently we find in the *Golos Rodini* a complaint that the Semionov troops had murdered a Russian, two Greeks, and a Jew, and were robbing passengers on railroad trains. On December 4 the paper contains an item to the effect that Semionov had departed on a Japanese transport. It adds the caustic comment that, like Denikin, he had run away ahead of his troops. Perhaps with a view to obscuring his somewhat ignominious withdrawal from the scene, Semionov put forth this grandiloquent proclamation to the Buriat tribesmen:

Valiant Buriat warriors: Years have already been spent in the struggle for the motherland, for the welfare of the people, for Buriat freedom. The severe climate of our own Buriat region has temporarily stopped the struggle for our sacred cause. But spring will come; streams will begin to flow from the mountains; the fields will become green. And we will strike the Kahal of our enemies, who have desecrated your holy places, robbed your huts, and consigned your relatives to poverty. Those who have trampled upon the rights of the Buriat people cannot be rulers over you. No matter where I may be, I will always help you; and in a difficult moment I will come to you. May Holy Buddha hear the prayers of the llamas and of all of us. May He help us.

China and the Far Eastern Republic

THE following note addressed by Mr. Yourin, head of the Economic Mission of the Far Eastern Republic, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China, on November 30, is taken from the news letter of the Dalta News Agency dated at Peking, December 3.

To His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China.

In the course of constructing new forms of government and society, the people of the Russian Far East have endured all the horrors of the two-year rule of usurpers and bandits in the persons of reactionary rulers and atamans, as they were called, who made their way one stream of blood, and brought ruin and famine to a region previously known for its prosperity and richness.

Brutal atrocities and indiscriminate executions, however, proved futile to thwart the irresistible aspirations toward freedom and peace of the people of the Far East. The desire to put an end to the civil strife in the shortest possible time and to establish law and order on the firm basis of democracy, with a strong craving for the furtherance of cordial and amicable relations with all foreign countries seem to have combined to cause the people of the Far East to overthrow the reactionary rule hated by the people and to form, after all the provinces in the territory extending from Lake Baikal to the Pacific are united, the independent commonwealth of the Far Eastern Republic.

With a territory greater than that of any of the European Powers and containing inexaustible natural resources, the new Republic is preserving in full the institution of private property and offers immense possibilities for development to private capital and private initiative. Striving for an economic and industrial rapprochment with all foreign Powers, the Government of the Far Eastern Republic will gladly welcome any offer by foreign capital and will afford it every possibility of a vast participation in the exploitation of natural resources, pledging it their special consideration and protection.

First of all the people of the Far East will endeavor to maintain and increase friendly relations with China, with which country they have for many centuries been connected by the closest bonds of friendship and commercial intercourse. The two nations long ago appreciated the greatness of the reciprocal advantage of their economic relations, which naturally resulted from the contiguity of their boundaries extending almost throughout the entire length of the great Asiatic continent.

During the last three centuries more than fifty treaties and agreements have been entered into by China and Russia, and this fact alone is sufficient to show how essential and natural are the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

It is true that traces of the imperialistic policy of the deposed Czarist Government are manifest in many of these treaties. But the Chinese people are well aware that whenever the sincere friendship and traditional neighborly spirit of the two nations were injured it was not the Russian people at large who were to blame. The Russian people at present follow quite a different path; they are now heart and soul for the redress of those gross injustices.

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The urgent necessity for China and the Far Eastern Republic to maintain a close and uninterrupted relationship was sufficiently proved by the one fact that even during the most difficult years of the world blockade of Russia, at the time when China had officially severed connections with Russia, her commercial relations with Russia were as a matter of fact never interrupted. During the last decade prior to the World War, China's trade with Russia had increased from 20,000,000 taels in 1907 to 100,000,000 taels in 1916, with China's exports five times as great as her imports. This trade, carried on either through the Far Eastern ports and the Chinese Eastern Railway, or via Kalgan, Urga, and Kiakhta, was almost entirely with the Russian Far East, now united in the independent commonwealth of the Far Eastern Republic.

The Mission of the Far Eastern Republic, in its effort to stabilize, promote, and regulate this intercourse, contemplates carrying it on in the spirit of the principles which the Russian people have, since the overthrow of the Czarist Government, made the fundamental law of their foreign policy. Therefore, this Mission considers it necessary that the question of a radical revision of all treaties and agreements made between China and the former Czarist Government be raised first of all. All privileges which contain no element of reciprocity must be eliminated from those treaties. Anything that contains the element of imperialistic aggression alien to the principles of equal opportunities and equal rights, anything that may have any connection, however slight, with the outrages committed against China by the former imperialistic Government, and, finally, anything that may be derogatory to the dignity of a nation and its sovereignty must be unconditionally withdrawn from the future dealings between China and the Far Eastern Republic. New agreements defining mutual relations between these two republics should be based entirely upon the principles of equal opportunities with the object of developing and strengthening the interrelation of the two nations.

Any normal and regular exchange of commodities on a large scale is, of course, impracticable unless adequate protection of a judicial nature to legalize every economic transaction has first been established. Therefore, among the most outstanding questions which are intrinsically connected with the relations in question, that which demands first attention is the one relative to the restoration of economic representation in the form of authorized organs of consular service as adopted everywhere in international practice.

The Mission of the Far Eastern Republic holds that the Russian consular service in China, after having been suspended two and a half years ago, should now be reestablished in the spirit of the above-mentioned principles. In compliance with this, Article VII of the Tientsin Treaty of 1858, Articles VIII and X of the Supplementary Peking Treaty of 1860, and, finally, Article XI of the St. Petersburg Treaty of 1891 should be revised.

Confident that the Chinese and their Government are able to insure a jurisdiction to the Russian citizens in this country such as is in keeping with their judicial conscience, this Mission holds that the whole series of regulations referred to above and pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Russian consular service in China may be abolished.

Next in the series of the most important and outstanding questions is that of the Russo-Chinese relations regarding the Chinese-Eastern Railway. The great and undisputable part this railway has played in the history of the two nations must unconditionally be recognized by an adequate agreement wherein the interests, rights, and obligations of the two sides should be fully guaranteed in accordance with the principle of mutual justice. As regards the illegal claims to this railway by the Russo-Asiatic Bank, these must once and for all be discouraged in a most decisive way.

Apart from this, due consideration must be attached to the question of surveying new routes as well as of improving railway and water transportation facilities with a view to encouraging trade between the two countries. The question of transport and customs tariff policy must also be given deepest consideration.

While touching in this declaration upon the most outstanding questions which are to be solved first, and having defined the principles which are to be built into the foundation of further relations between the two nations, this Mission firmly believes that the question of an early restoration of normal relations is of as much importance to the Government and the people of the great Republic of China as it is to the new Far Eastern Republic. Therefore an early solution of all these questions will undoubtedly serve as a durable basis for the advancement and stabilization of cordial relations between the two nations for the good and prosperity of the two Republics.

IGNATIUS L. YOURIN,
President of the Far Eastern Republic Mission to China.
M. KASSANIN, Secretary.

Peking, November 30, 1920

China Explains to the Diplomats

APPARENTLY in response to Soviet Russia's abandonment of special privileges in China acquired under the Czarist regime, the Chinese Government recently withdrew recognition of the former Russian Minister and other Russian officials of the old regime, and temporarily annulled certain special privileges enjoyed by Russians in China under treaties made with the former Russian monarchy. The dean of the foreign diplomatic corps at Peking thereupon made representations in behalf of the Russian officials, to which the Chinese Foreign Minister, Dr. W. W. Yen, replied as follows, according to *Millard's Review* (Shanghai) for December 18.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to note your communication of November 18, 1920, and to state that all the arrangements now in progress that have been adopted by the Chinese Government in regard to the Russians in China are not in any way inconsistent with what was stated in my communication of October 22. Both civil and criminal cases in which Russian residents are involved, by treaty come under the jurisdiction of Russian consuls, but in consequence of the withdrawal of recognition of the Russian consuls, there are now no persons capable of exercising this function, therefore the jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases in which Russian residents in China are involved cannot but be temporarily taken over by the Chinese Government, it being only a logical result from actual circumstances.

Since the Russian courts in the Chinese Eastern Railway area were based neither on the Chinese Eastern Railway Agreement nor on the treaty provisions relating to consular jurisdiction between China and Russia, but were established at the time by the Russians independently and without the permission and recognition of the Chinese Government, and therefore in contravention of treaty provisions, their existence constituted an act of encroachment on the sovereign rights of China. Even before the withdrawal of recognition of the Russian Minister and consuls the president of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the local officials had already negotiated and successfully arranged with the Russian Consul for their abolition. Thus this measure is not adopted in consequence of the withdrawal of recognition but is entirely a separate question.

The Chinese Government has always dealt with Russian affairs with due care and concern. Only recently the Vice-Minister of Justice made a trip to Harbin for the purpose of making investigations on the spot, and with the view to safeguarding the interests of Russians in China. The Chinese Eastern Railway area has been constituted a special area in which special courts have been established. Both the local and the

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high court as well as the local branch courts may employ foreigners as counselors or inquisitors, and in the adjudication of cases brought up by Russians the branch courts may even have the assistance of the counselors or inquisitors. Besides foreign counsels are allowed to appear in the above-mentioned special courts, while Russian notaries public are allowed to function as hitherto. As to the application of Russian laws, they are naturally to be applied as long as they are within the provisions of the Rules Governing the Application of Laws promulgated by the Chinese Government. Therefore this question does not call for mention in the rules governing the creation of the special courts. . . .

I have now the honor to explain further the arrangements suggested by the Diplomatic Corps.

1. The Municipal Council of the Concession will continue to function in accordance with the present arrangement. With regard to the police, which has close connection with the maintenance of peace and order, the Chinese Government by legal principle certainly bears the necessary responsibility, but whatever is within the sphere of local government by the Municipal Council will not be interfered with at all.

2. Although the old Russian courts had never received the recognition of the Chinese Government, yet in the interest and for the convenience of Russians they have been reconstituted in accordance with their former grading and in the same places within the special area of the Eastern Provinces. Moreover, some of the former judicial officers of the different grades of the Russian courts have already been appointed counselors and inquisitors, and it is proposed to continue to appoint more. The Russian clerks and interpreters have also been employed and those who have already assumed office now number seventeen, and it is proposed to employ more.

3. The former Russian notaries public have already been allowed to continue their functions.

For the purpose of giving to Russian affairs their due consideration this Ministry has created within itself a Commission on Russian Affairs composed of important men familiar with Russian affairs now in the different departments of the Ministry, and Mr. Lin Ching-jen, formerly Minister to Petrograd, has been appointed its chairman. In the offices of the Commissioners of Foreign Affairs of such places as Hankow and Hailar where Russian residents are comparatively numerous, Russians have been engaged as advisers. If necessary, advisers will also be engaged in other places.

The points referred to above all concern the internal administration of the Chinese Government. If any of the Russian organizations in China desire to express their opinion they are at liberty to communicate with the Commission on Russian Affairs, and such opinion will undoubtedly receive the due consideration of the Chinese Government. As to the summoning of a mixed council it is hoped that the Diplomatic Corps will appreciate and understand not only the fact that at this time when there are so many Russian political parties such a step will certainly give rise to undesirable consequences and create many difficult problems, but also the fact that it is a question which properly concerns the matter of Chinese sovereignty, and which the Chinese Government does not feel able to accede to. . . .

Furthermore, for the information of the Diplomatic Corps, the Russians have violated China's frontiers, outraged her merchants, confiscated their property, and done many other acts of a similar nature. In fact on the part of the Russians they have for a time failed to fulfil their treaty obligations. Nevertheless, China, appreciating the distressing condition of Russia and desiring to strengthen her friendship for Russia not only has not reduced, but quite on the contrary has increased the burdens of the Chinese Government and people in their favor. Such circumstances and conditions do not obtain in any other country than China.

Since the Diplomatic Corps has made some proposals in regard to Russian affairs, I make bold to request that it put itself in China's position and consider the whole question in that light.

THIS half-page is an expression from a Japanese friend of his appreciation of the earnest and devoted work of *The Nation* in crusading for freer and fairer trade relations the world over, for just and more generous social and political relations both within and between nations, and especially for its brave and earnest labors to keep the peace between the United States and Japan.

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